

## Charge d'affaires Bassiouny tells Post: Egypt wants USSR at Middle East talks

By MARK SEGAL  
Post Political Correspondent  
TEL AVIV. — Egypt is now calling for an international conference for peace in the Middle East with Soviet participation. This emerged from a weekend with Egyptian charge d'affaires Mohammed Bassiouny.

Bassiouny explained to *The Post* that such a conference was in accordance with a UN General Assembly resolution in December last year. Egyptian policy, he said, favoured the October, 1977, U.S.-Soviet communiqué which advocated holding such a conference in Geneva.

Interviewed at the Egyptian Embassy in Rehov Basel here, Bassiouny declared that Egyptian advocacy of the conference conformed with the UN majority position, "and with its conviction of the necessity to find alternate and suitable formulas acceptable to all the concerned parties to overcome the current standstill and its increasingly tense and complicated consequences."

The Egyptian envoy denied that this formula involved a deviation from the Camp David framework.

agreement, particularly regarding the bringing in of the Soviets. He noted that the Camp David treaty also referred to the involvement of Jordanian and Palestinian representatives, but that these parties had yet to sign the agreement.

The peace initiative would be based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and "is a framework that needs to be filled in," said Bassiouny.

As to the involvement of the Russians, the Egyptian charge d'affaires declared, "We have nothing against the Soviet Union. There is a need to recognize Soviet interests in the Middle East."

In response to a question about a prior requirement of Soviet recognition of Israel for such an involvement, Bassiouny pointed out: "The Soviets do recognize Israel, only there are no diplomatic relations between the two countries."

He declared that "the ball is in the court of whichever Israeli government takes office as regards renewing the momentum of an overall peace settlement in the Middle East."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## New York Times' reports: 'Anti-Soviet thrust to U.S.-Israel strategy'

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WASHINGTON. — Israel has reportedly agreed that its continuing strategic cooperation talks with the U.S. should focus exclusively on the Soviet threat in the eastern Mediterranean, rather than any threat from radical Arab states.

The *New York Times* on Friday quoted American officials as saying that Israel has agreed to the Reagan administration's wish that the talks concentrate on anti-Soviet military cooperation.

"As administration officials analyze the situation, Israel has decided to accede to the American demand as the entry fee toward what they hope will be the larger result — a long-sought strategic cooperation agreement with Washington," wrote national security correspondent Leslie Gelb.

Although administration officials declined to confirm the *Times* report or to comment on it, authoritative American sources admitted that the story was basically accurate. Administration officials in fact had tried to persuade the *Times* to delay publication of the story until after the elections in Israel, it was reliably learned, but their efforts failed.

Political sources in Jerusalem last night denied the *Times* report.

Since the talks started last year, there has been a difference of opinion between Washington and Jerusalem on the proper focus of

attention. American officials, fearful of upsetting the Arabs, have been anxious to put an anti-Soviet tone in the negotiations. Israel has stressed the cooperative efforts aimed against radical Arab states in the region.

Israeli officials have feared that the plight of Soviet Jews might be worsened by a high-profile Israeli pact with the U.S. aimed simply against the Soviet Union.

Israeli defence officials last night adamantly refused to confirm the report, even though, one official said, "it would not be bad for the government to do so before the election." *The Jerusalem Post* has learned, however, that the Gelb report is for the most part accurate.

They also told *The Post* that the American administration had made it clear to the Israelis during the negotiation process that under no terms were the strategic talks to be made into an election issue.

Gelb, a former State Department official, is known for his good contacts in the administration, but there has been speculation here that the contents of the agreement could possibly have been leaked by persons interested in the Likud's reelection.

"Administration officials said that Israel, led by the Likud bloc, has been warned not to overplay the (Continued on back page)

## Alignment wants no part of superpower rivalry — Peres

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
HAIFA. — Alignment leader Shimon Peres last night "would not believe" that the Likud government had "gone so far" as to join with the U.S. in a "strategic agreement aimed against the Soviet Union."

Therefore, he doubted the accuracy of the report on the agreement in yesterday's *New York Times*.

Speaking at a press conference at the Zion Hotel here, Peres said the Alignment had "no ambitions" to "change the world and intervene in East-West rivalry."

"We want only to assure Israel's security in this region," he said. "Though 'this is a free country,' he did not believe that the government had gone as far as the paper had reported."

Looking turned and calm at the end of the grueling election campaign, but chain smoking, Peres said he was worried by the opinion polls which predicted "a divided parliamentary map with 16 parties that will make it impossible to establish the strong and stable government the country so sorely needs."

He made a last-minute appeal for a vote that would make possible a strong government not overly dependent on small parties. Such a government is important because it is imperative to start curing the economy immediately after the elections without lengthy coalition negotiations, he said.

Asked whether he would prefer a splintered coalition to a national unity government if the Alignment was a plurality, Peres dismissed Premier Yitzhak Shamir's call for a unity government as "an election stunt." Shamir had a chance to establish such a government when he took over and he missed it, Peres said.

It will probably be up to Shamir to decide whether he is willing to join a unity government led by the Alignment, Peres said.

He said he would not establish a government that depended on the support of the Communists.

Earlier Peres visited the Druse village Isfiya on Mt. Carmel and a "painters' marathon" on behalf of the Alignment on the square outside the Rothschild community centre on the Carmel.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir addresses the Likud's final rally at Jerusalem's Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall last night. (Story below right) (Rahamim Israeli)

## Banker urges Shamir to take drastic steps

Post Economic Reporter  
The need to impose drastic economic measures immediately after the elections was raised by a leading banker at a meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on Friday.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad denied to *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the possibility of taking drastic measures had been discussed.

A spokesman for the prime minister last night denied that Friday's meeting of Shamir with a leading banker dealt with "matters of state."

"They discussed matters concern-

ing the party," spokesman Yossi Ahimeir said, apparently alluding to reports of financial difficulties caused by the Likud's election campaign expenses.

Treasury officials have not concealed that after the elections 30 to 40 per cent hikes in the prices of basic commodities are likely.

At the Bank of Israel, meanwhile, there is growing concern with the rapid pace at which foreign currency reserves are dropping and the large sums of foreign currency purchased by the public.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Dbaiye office stops issuing passes in bid to press Beirut

Post Diplomatic Correspondent and Agencies  
Israel's Beirut mission has temporarily stopped issuing entry passes into South Lebanon "as a means of pressure" against Lebanon's move to close the mission, government sources in Jerusalem confirmed last night.

"If they won't let us stay there, we won't be able to deal with entry permits," the sources said. They conceded that this would cause growing hardship to Lebanese merchants and travellers.

The sources seemed to doubt, though, that Israel would want to stay on in Beirut indefinitely if the Beirut government continued to demand its ouster.

They noted that Israel does have an option of staying: the Lebanese Forces (Phalange) had already offered to guard the Israeli mission at Dbaiye in place of the Lebanese Army troops who are being withdrawn by the government.

"But Israel may well not wish to

stay on in those circumstances," the sources surmised.

They said Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir had decided to postpone a final decision for "a week or 10 days." Meanwhile Israel was discussing the matter with "various parties in Lebanon."

Members of the Lebanese liaison team who had been serving the office were collecting papers and dismantling their equipment Friday, preparing for a final withdrawal from the office by today.

A Kol Yisrael report last night said that today's meeting of the cabinet in Jerusalem would discuss the Lebanese closure of the Dbaiye liaison office.

The liaison office and the Israeli-Lebanese liaison committee were established under the U.S.-brokered May 17, 1983, troop withdrawal pact between Israel and Lebanon.

Col. Fawzi Abu Farhat, head of the Lebanese liaison team, has said that the soldiers guarding the office were part of the liaison team and will be withdrawn by today.

## Terrorist killed in clash with IDF on eastern front

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
METULLA. — An IDF patrol killed one terrorist in an encounter with a terrorist band Thursday night near the village of Amik on the eastern front in Lebanon. There were no IDF casualties.

In the last few weeks there have been several instances of terrorists crossing from Syrian-held territory near the village. It is not clear whether this reflects a change in Syrian policy to permit infiltration.

Over the weekend, Unifil forces dismantled a roadside bomb near the village of Marake, and IDF troops removed a mine near Hatzbaya.

An assailant buried a hand grenade at a main IDF headquarters in South Lebanon yesterday morning, causing no casualties or damage.

Israel Radio said the attack was on an army administration building in the port city of Tyre, and described it as the main base for the army's liaison unit with Lebanon.

Attacks on Israeli forces in South Lebanon have mounted recently. A Shi'ite Moslem leader, Daoud Daoud, has been quoted in *Ha'aretz* saying the attacks were aimed at boosting chances of parties supporting a speedy withdrawal from Lebanon in tomorrow's balloting.

## Polish political prisoners amnestied

WARSAW (AP). — The Polish parliament yesterday approved a general amnesty for its political opponents that will free those Solidarity figures jailed following the 1981 military crackdown on the free trade union.

The action coincided with weekend celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Communist rule in Poland and was viewed by Polish, opposition and Western observers as a significant conciliatory gesture by authorities toward their opponents.

Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, addressing a special ceremonial session of parliament that convened after the vote, declared: "The amnesty bill passed today is an

expression of humanitarianism, but at the same time of the strength of the state."

"It proves that the situation in the country enables us to take such a step. There has been no return to anarchy and there will not be one," the Prime Minister and Communist Party leader said to applause.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said if the amnesty covers all the trade union's figures, including both those detained and those who are still fugitives from authorities, "this certainly will be a step toward social agreement."

In a telephone interview from his home in Gdansk he added, however, that authorities also must allow the

## Modest Alignment win foreseen in final poll

By HANOCH and RAFAEL SMITH  
Special to The Jerusalem Post  
The Alignment will win 48 seats to the Likud's 41 in tomorrow's election, according to the final poll conducted by the Smith Research Centre on Wednesday and Thursday nights.

The poll among 1,200 Jewish voters throughout the country also indicated that while the Alignment will not attract Sephardi votes away from the Likud, many former Likud supporters will desert the party for the smaller parties.

The poll showed the Alignment winning 38 per cent of the Jewish vote, with the Likud getting 33 per cent. Compared to the Smith poll of two weeks ago, this shows a 1.5 per cent drop for the Alignment and a 3.5 per cent gain for the Likud.

With estimates of the Arab vote, and taking into account surplus vote

agreements, the Smith organization projects the following distribution of Knesset seats:

Alignment — 48  
Likud — 41  
Tehiya — 5-6  
NRP, Morasha — 5  
Aguda, Shas — 5  
Tami — 1-2  
Shinui, CRM, Eliav — 6-7  
Yahad — 3  
Progressive, Rakah — 4-5  
Others — 0-1

During July the main change among voters has been a decline in support for the Alignment and an increase for the Likud. Most of this change is attributed to a return to the Likud by supporters who earlier had shown a preference for the Alignment.

Polarization along ethnic lines (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

The pattern of preference by party grouping in percentages is as follows:

Party or group	1981 Election	April 1984	June 1984	8-10 July	18-19 July
Likud	40	28	28	29.5	33
Tehiya	4	5.5	5.5	7	5.5
NRP, Aguda	9.5	9	7	6	6.5
Tami, Morasha, Shas	3	3	3.5	4.5	4.5
Alignment	37.5	41	44	39.5	38
Yahad	—	3	3.5	2.5	2.5
Others	2.5	1	1	1.5	2
Undecided	—	—	—	—	—
No preference	—	6	3.5	3	2

## Begin declines to make TV appeal for Likud

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter  
TEL AVIV. — A very conspicuous absence was the most striking feature of last night's TV election offerings — the last instalment for the 1984 campaign. Former prime minister Menachem Begin did not make his much-anticipated appearance on behalf of his party.

That he would not do so became clear early Friday afternoon when the videotapes for the Saturday night TV spots had to be handed in for scrutiny to the head of the Central Elections Committee, Justice Gavriel Bach. Once this was done, without a taped message from Begin, it was too late for any participation on his part to be added later. The same was true for tape recordings of radio

election spots.

Despite rumours, Begin did not agree at any time to be taped for TV or radio. Those close to him say that Begin had not flatly refused the appeals of those who visited him, but kept asking for more time to decide. But then it was too late.

All this came without so much as an explanation to the deep dismay of Likud campaign workers. Nevertheless, they may now seek at least an appeal to the voters in writing from the former premier. They also point out that since Begin is not a Knesset candidate, he is not barred from being interviewed on a regular television or radio news programme.

Many of the Likud's campaign managers complained over the

weekend, though not for attribution, that Begin had been stringing them along for a week, and that he could have turned down their appeals to take part in the election campaign right away, rather than "toying with them" up to the very last minute.

The *Post* London correspondent adds: Joseph Finklestone, foreign editor of *The Jewish Chronicle*, said Friday he had spoken to Begin on the telephone last week and Begin had expressed confidence in a Likud victory at the polls. Finklestone also said he asked Begin about reports that Begin had recently spoken disparagingly about former defence minister Ariel Sharon, and quoted Begin as replying: "That is absolute rubbish." (See story p. 2)

## Not much enthusiasm at Likud's final rally

About half of the 5,000 people last night on Jerusalem's Ben-Yehuda mall were there to see Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The other half was more interested in the price of coffee and cake at the half dozen cafes that line the 300-metre sloping promenade.

The Likud's final election rally in Jerusalem did draw about 100 enthusiastic supporters who waved placards, shouted "boos" for Yossi Sarid, Shimon Peres and other Alignment figures and at one point forced Shamir to ask them to be quiet so that he could continue speaking. These 100 stood in the front rows of the rally shouting "Begin, Begin" loudest when the TV cameras' lights went on.

Some 2,000 other people in the crowd reacted with less enthusiastic

**EYE-WITNESS**  
**Robert Rosenberg**

applause and cheers for Shamir. Justice Minister Moshe Nissim and Transport Minister Haim Corfu.

Nissim and Corfu took the podium first. Their speeches, despite valiant efforts to use the Alignment names — and Begin's name — in the appropriate places, drove away as many people from the crowd as their speeches seemed to draw.

Just up the slope from the rally, which was bathed in TV-camera lights, thousands of Jerusalemites did what they normally do on a

Saturday night — they filled cafes, paying little attention to the political rally below. One cafe showing the election advertisements changed programme in mid-stream, seeing that its mostly teenage customers preferred a video rock movie over the political propaganda.

Shamir's speech focused on the well-worn themes of the Likud campaign, but there seemed to be little enthusiasm in the crowd. Many just stood and listened.

At the end of the rally, after Shamir (who has been claiming a sore throat) gave a 40-minute speech, Likud Knesset candidate Yehoshua Matza led the crowd in a dirge-like off-key *Hatikva* that was ignored by the pedestrians within half a block of the rally.

## 5 hurt in Nablus attack on army

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
A soldier was slightly injured and four local residents wounded when a grenade was hurled at an army patrol in Nablus at midday yesterday. The four people are said to be in satisfactory condition in the local hospital, according to military sources.

The F-1 grenade of Soviet manufacture was thrown at the foot patrol in the Clock Square in the centre of the city. Security forces clamped a curfew on the immediate area and the nearby *casha* and conducted widespread searches.

On Thursday, IDF soldiers and a Border Police bomb disposal expert were summoned by local residents to examine a suspicious parcel found inside a mosque in Nablus. As soon as the troops arrived they were stoned from surrounding rooftops and military sources said yesterday that it was thought that the entire incident was a hoax designed to trap the soldiers.

Military sources said that the parcel was clearly a dummy bomb and that the Arabic note found alongside could not be deciphered.

## Glickstein, Perkins in Davis Cup win

Jerusalem Post Staff  
Israel's Davis Cup team of Shlomo Glickstein and Shahar Perkins achieved the greatest victory in the history of Israeli tennis when they beat a Swiss team 4-1 over the weekend. Glickstein won both his singles events, and Perkins one of his. While together they won the doubles, while together they won the doubles. Israel will now play the Soviet Union in the zone final on September 28, 29, 30.

(Full story, p. 7)



Glickstein in action at Ramat Hasharon (Galini)

(In English)

## ELECTION NIGHT HAPPENING!

The No. 1 Party in the Elections!

Tomorrow, July 23, from 9:30 p.m. till the wee hours

- ★ What the results mean — panel discussion with anchorman Harry Wall (Director ADL/B'nai B'rith Israel Office) including Professor Eliahu Katz, Ari Rath, Rabbi Richard Hirsh, Ya'acov (Dry Bones) Kirschen, Frieda Keet, and many others.
- ★ Straw poll (mock election)
- ★ Live continuous broadcast (incl. interviews to New York via WNYM radio (sponsored by EL AL, WZO Mainstream magazine, Michael Starr Real Estate)
- ★ Door prizes
- ★ Large screen projection of Israel TV election results with English interpretation.
- ★ Balloons, streamers
- ★ Film shorts
- ★ Refreshments (inexpensive)
- ★ Discount book sale
- ★ First copies of Tuesday's Jerusalem Post, hot off the press
- ★ With the support of the Ministry of Tourism

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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

	MIN.	MAX.	WIND	WEATHER
AMSTERDAM	12	14	10	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	12	14	10	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	12	14	10	Cloudy
GENEVA	12	14	10	Cloudy
HELSINKI	12	14	10	Cloudy
LONDON	12	14	10	Cloudy
MADRID	12	14	10	Cloudy
MONTREAL	12	14	10	Cloudy
MUNICH	12	14	10	Cloudy
PARIS	12	14	10	Cloudy
ROME	12	14	10	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	12	14	10	Cloudy
TOKYO	12	14	10	Cloudy
ZURICH	12	14	10	Cloudy

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## THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	54	15-26	15-26
Qibya	54	15-26	15-26
Nahariya	54	15-26	15-26
Safed	54	15-26	15-26
Haifa Port	54	15-26	15-26
Tiberias	54	15-26	15-26
Nazareth	54	15-26	15-26
Atula	54	15-26	15-26
Shimon	54	15-26	15-26
Be'er Sheva	54	15-26	15-26
Jericho	54	15-26	15-26
Gaza	54	15-26	15-26
Beersheba	54	15-26	15-26
Eilat	54	15-26	15-26

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The director-general and the members of the Israel branch of the Alliance Israelite Universelle announce that their president Mr. Jules Braunschvig has been promoted to the rank of Commandeur de la Legion d'Honneur.

## ARRIVALS

Sam Rothberg, international chairman of Israel Bonds, and Julian B. Vencsky, national co-chairman for community leadership, Israel Bonds.

Gerold Kraft, president of B'nai B'rith International; Jack Spitzer, honorary president, B'nai B'rith International; and Dr. Daniel Thurns, executive vice-president, B'nai B'rith International, to attend meetings of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and for consultations with local B'nai B'rith leadership.

## Louis Bloomfield dies in Jerusalem

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Canadian philanthropist Louis Bloomfield died of a sudden heart attack in Jerusalem on Thursday. Bloomfield, who was 79, was on a visit to Israel.

Bloomfield was a life-long Zionist and contributor to Jewish and Israeli causes. In particular, he was a great friend of the Histadrut and a supporter of the labour federation's Amal educational network and Hapoel sports organization.

The Bloomfield soccer stadium in Jaffa was named after Louis and his surviving brother Bernard.

## Avraham Daroyan, 82 Hashomer member

**Kfar Sava (Itim).** — Avraham Daroyan, one of the last of the original Shomrim who guarded Jewish settlements in the first third of this century, died here yesterday at the age of 82.

Daroyan, who was born in Petah Tikva, chose as his mentor the legendary founder of the Shomrim, Avraham Shapira. For many years Daroyan's modest home here was the meeting place for his numerous Jewish and Arab friends.

## BANKER SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

In the past few weeks there has been speculation that the Treasury and the central bank are planning a drastic tightening of foreign currency controls as a way of preventing a further drop in the reserve level.

The public is not waiting for the day after elections and has already started an all-out attack on supermarket shelves. People spoke on Friday of fights in a Jerusalem supermarket over sugar.

Fears regarding large price increases and a large devaluation have moved the public to purchase large quantities of basic commodities. There has also been an increased demand for dollars on the black market.

Expectations of rapid devaluation have caused the conversion of much of the public's savings into dollars-denominated assets such as Patam accounts and dollar-linked bonds.

To finance the purchase of these assets, the public last week sold some \$150 billion worth of bonds which were picked up by the Bank of Israel.

**COURT.** — Netanya residents will no longer have to go to Tel Aviv or Petah Tikva for the services of a rabbinical court.

**Mazal Tov and Happy 50th Birthday — July 22**

**DON GOULD**  
of Albany, New York, and Tel Aviv  
The dean of Israel's newspaper basketball reporters

**Welcome Back to Jerusalem**  
**Prof. MARTIN (Mordechai) WOLINS**  
From the Capt. Yehiel and Ruth Givsky Langer Hospitality Foundation, One Mapo St., Jerusalem.

# HOME AND WORLD NEWS

## ELECTIONS

## Soldiers in Lebanon to cast votes today

**Post Defence Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — IDF soldiers in Lebanon will start voting for the Knesset at 7 o'clock this morning — one day earlier than in Israel — because of difficulties involved in conducting the elections there.

Aluf-Mishne Haim Avital, the army's chief elections officer, told defence reporters here that the logistical problems of providing escorts to outlying positions for the elections committees and the ban on night travel have forced the army to start the voting today. The voting must end at 5 or 6 p.m. in Lebanon.

Aluf-Mishne Avital said. A plan to use small helicopters to bring ballot boxes to outlying positions was dropped but helicopters will be used to collect the ballot boxes and fly them to the Central Elections Committee in Jerusalem.

There officials will examine the outer envelopes on which soldiers write their names. Once officials ascertain that the soldier was eligible

to vote they will transfer the inner envelope — unopened — into a larger box.

A similar two-envelope voting system will be used throughout the army. Thus soldiers will be allowed to vote in any base they want and even reservists beginning their service on Monday will be allowed to use the military stations. Ballot boxes will also reach military prisons and soldiers' beds at hospitals — but civilian patients will not be allowed to use them.

In most places soldiers will need their civilian identity cards and IDF cards to vote. But in some units they will be allowed to identify themselves with the four-page pictureless cards commonly called the "prisoner of war card."

Avital estimated elections in the army will cost \$25m. — mostly because of transportation costs. The ballots are expected to arrive in Jerusalem by 2 p.m. tomorrow.

## Bach praises 'calm' election campaign

**TEL AVIV (Itim).** — High praise for the manner in which the election campaign has been conducted was voiced on Friday by the chairman of the Central Elections Committee, Justice Gavriel Bach. Interviewed on Israel Radio, Bach said that no previous campaign had been as civilized and calm as this one. "Here and there, there were exceptions, but that's natural," he said.

Bach said his overall impression of the campaign was far more favour-

able than he had anticipated at the outset.

Concerning the committee's censoring of portions of the television election films, Bach said that it was his feeling, and that of the parties' leaders, that blacking out the films kept the campaign from possibly deteriorating.

All in all, he said, being committee chairman was a "pleasant and interesting experience."

## Likud and Labour wind up TV campaign on solemn note

**By SARAH HONIG**  
**Post Political Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — In the last evening of TV electioneering yesterday, both large parties sought to conclude their 1984 campaign on a solemn note. The comedians for both sides were absent last night.

The Likud's final pitch featured the inside of a polling booth, with voters told that when the moment of truth arrives and they are alone with themselves, they would not want to return to all that Labour governments stood for.

Labour featured a voice message, which also appeared in text on

screen, calling on the voter to opt for a new society.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir promised "a tough line on defence and a national unity government, which the Likud would seek to set up under its leadership. Labour cannot be trusted to do the same, because a national unity government is a dirty word, for the Alignment list."

Alignment leader Shimon Peres declared that he is "ready to change the future of the nation" and that "early Tuesday morning right after the election results are in, we will begin tackling the nation's burning problems."

Labour also appeared in text on

screen, calling on the voter to opt for a new society.

## SMITH POLL

(Continued from Page One)

also remains in evidence. In the European-origin population the vote for the Alignment and its allies increased significantly. Among Israelis originating from Islamic countries, however, very little shift was noted in the last poll, and this population, which is half of the Jewish electorate, is likely to vote again very heavily for the Likud and its allies.

All of the above figures are subject to statistical and other errors. For major parties, the error could be 2-3 per cent of the vote, and for the small parties the errors could be very large indeed. It is therefore impossible to predict with accuracy which of the small parties will exceed the 1 per cent minimum vote needed for Knesset representation. The following small parties were either close to or exceeded the 1 per cent threshold in the last poll: Ometz, Eliav, and Kach.

Among the veteran parties, Tehiya will certainly gain, and should get at least four or five seats. Both Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party will lose

votes to Shas and other religious parties, with the NRP probably losing one or two seats.

Shas, the Sephardi Tora Guardians, could obtain one or two seats, while Tami is likely to lose at least one seat.

In the opposition camp, Shinui should win at least three seats, and the Citizens Rights Movement could get two.

But the subtle changes among the small parties are of little importance compared with the question of which large party will form the coalition, and with what strength. Because the Arab parties will surely vote against a Likud government, there is a high probability that the Alignment will be called upon to form the next government.

On Friday, a Dahaf Research Organization interview poll and a Gallup telephone survey showed the Alignment is likely to win 49 and 50 seats respectively. Dahaf showed 37 seats for Likud, while Gallup showed 34.

Neither poll included the Arab vote, which likely will go to the Alignment or smaller parties.

## EGYPT WANTS

(Continued from Page One)

Bassiouny who has recently been on a two-day home visit, meeting new Prime Minister Kamal Hassan Ali and other senior Egyptian policy-makers, noted that the new government's main focus would be on the domestic front. Foreign policy would continue regarding fostering peace with Israel and "pursuing and completing the peace process to attain a joint and durable settlement of the Palestinian problem."

The policy lines of the new government talk of "preserving the balance in Egypt's relations with the two superpowers," Bassiouny went on, explaining that the exchange of ambassadors between Cairo and Moscow was a step towards restoring full relations between the two countries without affecting existing Egyptian international obligations.

He said there had been no break between the two countries, only that the ambassadors were recalled after the authorities discovered, 18 months ago, Soviet block embassies' involvement in a Communist plot. Stressing that there was no change in Egyptian foreign policy, the envoy emphasized that President Hosni Mubarak had always sought good relations with both superpowers. He was sure the U.S. was fully aware of

Mubarak's consistent pursuit of peace with Israel and other countries.

As to the renewed peace initiative, Bassiouny said it should not wait until after the U.S. presidential elections in November.

"Everything depends on real peace in the area, and the realization that the peace treaty with Israel was a first step in that direction. New concepts must be infused into the process and new elements — specifically that Jordan and representatives of the Palestinians must join in," Bassiouny explained.

"How can you expect King Hussein and representatives of the Palestinians to join the process if you say all of the West Bank is not negotiable. That certainly is an obstacle in the path of peace." He reiterated that "whether it is a Likud or Labour government it will meet the outstretched hand of peace. But real peace cannot be imposed, certainly not on the inhabitants of the West Bank."

As to the prospects of returning the Egyptian ambassador to Israel, Bassiouny declared, "The reasons for recalling the ambassador are still valid: a prerequisite for the ambassador's return is their elimination."

However, "we cannot ignore the concrete fact that relations remain steady between Egypt and Israel, as shown by the existence of embassies, consulates, trade, tourism and so forth."

The charge d'affaires reported the consulate issued 46,000 visas in Tel Aviv during 1983 to Israelis wishing to visit Egypt, including 9,000 visas for those touring Egypt during the Passover holiday.

## West German Greens back Progressive List

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — Representatives of West Germany's Green Party see nothing wrong with their having come to Israel to endorse the Progressive List for Peace right before the elections. "We consider ourselves part of the international peace movement, and since the Progressive List wants to establish dialogue between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs, we think we should be involved," Greens Bundestag member Otto Schilly told a press conference here on Friday.

Schilly, Green Party spokesman Otto Dick and Gunther Hopfenmuller, a member of the Greens national executive, said they have come on a two-day fact-finding mission. Asked if they would meet representatives of other political parties, they said they would not have time for that.



Green Party Bundestag member Otto Schilly speaks at a press conference in Beit Sokolow in Tel Aviv on Friday. (Andre Bruman)

## MDA workers end strike, back on job

**TEL AVIV (Itim).** — Striking Magen David Adom workers went back to work on Friday after a meeting with Tova Zucker, the Histadrut official handling MDA affairs said.

The end of the strike has opened the way for a renewal of talks between the workers' representatives and management on wage demands.

Their first meeting is scheduled for tomorrow.

Work in the blood bank also started getting back to normal on Friday. During the two-day strike, supplies of blood in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa ran low, and the public barely responded to MDA pleas for additional contributions.

## Electricity now being subsidized by 17 per cent

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

HAIFA. — The government will have to pay \$100 million this year to subsidize electricity prices unless the Israel Electric Corporation is allowed to increase charges to keep pace with inflation, the corporation spokesman said on Friday.

For the past three months the government has refused to raise prices in line with IEC's requests — despite its own and the corporation's policy to scrap subsidies.

These refusals mean that electricity prices are now being subsidized by 17 per cent, according to corporation finance director Yehuda Milo.

He told the IEC directors' meeting on Thursday that in March this year the prices charged to consumers were about equal to production costs, at 6.26 cents per kilowatt hour. Now, however, the consumer is paying the equivalent of only 5.2 cents per kilowatt hour — 1.06 cents less than the hourly production cost.

## Settlement panel to deliberate today

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

The Ministerial Settlement Committee will meet today, with approval of three new settlements in the administered territories on its agenda.

The co-chairman of the World

Zionist Organization settlement department, Nissim Zvili has appealed against the meeting, arguing that matters of such national importance should be delayed until after tomorrow's elections and should not be decided upon hastily.

**FREDDIE FLEISCHMAN**

has left us.

The funeral will take place at 4 p.m. today, June 22, 1984 in the Kfar Shmaryahu cemetery. The mourners will meet at the cemetery entrance.

The Family

With deep grief we announce the passing of our beloved

**Eng. MORDECHAI KEMPINSKY**

of the veterans of Nahariya

The funeral will take place on Sunday, July 22, 1984, at 4.30 p.m., at the Nahariya Cemetery.

The Family

The Karen Kayemeth LeIsrael and the Jewish National Fund of America extend their sincere sympathy to the family of their good friend

**LOUIS BOGOPOLSKY**

a great philanthropist and a long-time Associate Chairman of the Religious Department of the J.N.F. of America.

The unveiling of his memorial will take place on Sunday, Tammuz 22, 5744 at Har Hazaitim.

May his memory be blessed.

The Religious Departments of K.K.L. and J.N.F. of America

In deep mourning for my dear friend

**FLORA**

Shirley Weisgal

The Weizmann Institute of Science mourns the passing of

**FLORA SOLOMON**

a long-time friend of the Weizmann Family and of this Institute

## 8 killed on roads last week

**Jerusalem Post Staff**

Eight people were killed and 73 severely injured in road accidents last week. Five of the dead were pedestrians, all of whom were minors. Fifty-three of the injured were pedestrians, 25 of them minors. A woman was killed and her English friend injured when their car crashed into an embankment on the Haifa-Tel Aviv coastal highway just south of Haifa, Friday afternoon, police reported.

The woman was later identified as 21-year-old Yael Roth of Rehov Noga, Haifa. The injured man, Howard Simmons, 32, from England, was taken to the Carmel Hospital. He suffered moderate injuries.

Police said Roth was driving the English-registered car, which belonged to Simmons. She was apparently trying to put on her safety belt when she lost control of the steering wheel.

The car veered into the oncoming lane and when she tried to correct it, swerved violently to the right, overturned, and crashed into the embankment.

Meanwhile, Samaria subdistrict police are appealing for witnesses to a fatal crash on the coastal road near Kibbutz Shefayim last Thursday evening. Driver Nahum Savori died when his car swerved across the road, and through the security barrier, for no apparent reason. (Itim)

## Two drown at unguarded beach

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

HAIFA. — A 16-year-old boy and his brother-in-law drowned off the Aqueduct Beach in Caesarea on Friday, the police reported.

Morris Shebertov, of Kiryat Ono, and his brother-in-law Yehiel Pesachov, of Pardess Hanna, were unable to swim back to shore and cried for help.

Shebertov's father dove into the sea to rescue them, but was unable to reach them.

He called the police who together

with the Coast Guard and the navy searched the area.

The Haifa police spokesman said that about 8 p.m. naval divers recovered the boy's body from the water. The body of Pesachov was washed ashore yesterday morning.

There are no lifeguards along this stretch of beach and police said bathing in the area is forbidden.

On Thursday, 19-year-old Ori Zig of Petah Tikva drowned in the Kinneret. His body was retrieved by tourists.

## Court orders disabled land dealer held

Supreme Court Justice Eliezer Goldberg on Friday accepted the state prosecutor's appeal and ruled that Moshe Zar, a West Bank land dealer and defendant in the Jewish underground case, be remanded until the end of proceedings against him.

Zar is accused of helping to plant the car bomb which blew off the legs of former Nablus mayor Bassam Shak'a in 1980.

The prosecutor appealed after the district court had decided to release Zar on bail. The lower court had done so after receiving a letter from

Zar's doctor stating that he was disabled and ill, and that a prolonged stay in jail might endanger his life.

Justice Goldberg appointed a Health Ministry doctor to examine Zar. The doctor's affidavit said that although Zar had disabilities and certain other health problems, they were not life-endangering, so long as he is under medical supervision.

Since such supervision is available in jail, and since the public interest requires the detention of a defendant accused of such a serious crime as Zar is, Goldberg accepted the state's appeal. (Itim)

Our deepest condolences to our good friend

Mike Fixler and his family

on the sudden passing of his mother

**HELEN FIXLER**

From his friends at Arieli Advertising Ltd., Mimsar Arieli and Tozaot.

**TECHNION**

ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

mourns the sudden passing of

**LOUIS BLOOMFIELD**

generous friend and staunch supporter of our Institute and extends condolences to his family.

**BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY**

deeply mourns the passing of

**Dr. LOUIS BLOOMFIELD**

a long-time friend of the University and a recent recipient of Bar Ilan's honorary doctorate.

The University sends its condolences to his wife and family.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its Board of Governors deeply mourn the passing of

**LOUIS M. BLOOMFIELD, O.C.**

of Montreal

devoted friend, honorary governor and honorary Ph.D. of the Hebrew University

Our condolences to his wife Justine, brother Bernard, and all members of the family.

**THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE**

deeply mourns the passing of

**LOUIS M. BLOOMFIELD**

a devoted member of its Board of Governors and expresses condolences to the family.



## British dockers end strike

LONDON (Reuters). — British dockers' leaders yesterday agreed to lift a 12-day national strike after a special meeting in London voted overwhelmingly to accept a peace formula.

The Transport and General Workers Union, which represents Britain's 36,000 registered dockers, called an end to the stoppage from midnight last night.

The strike, which paralyzed Britain's 61 ports, began over the use of non-registered labour to unload iron ore at Immingham, northeast England.

Union officials told reporters after the dockers' representatives meeting that the deal ensured there would be no future breaches of the dock labour scheme, which protects the jobs of registered dockers. The agreement was thrashed out in more than 16 hours of talks with port employers.

Some dockers, in particular at Liverpool and Hull, are expected to consider the formula at mass meetings today, but those at more than 10 ports voted Friday for an immediate return to work in anticipation of yesterday's decision.

Union officials said they expected all men to be back at work by tomorrow.

Those already back at work include men at Felixstowe, Britain's largest container port, and Dover, Europe's busiest ferry port, where dockers lifted a freight ban on Thursday after stranded lorry drivers threatened to go on the rampage.

Talks between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Coal Board broke down last week and government sources say no end is in sight of the strike which is being ignored by more than a quarter of Britain's 180,000 miners.

## Reagan acts to blunt Mondale offensive

WASHINGTON (AP). — After a week-long thrashing at the hands of the Democrats, President Reagan is moving quickly to regain the political offensive with a prime-time news conference and a campaign trip designed to show that he is not conceding any region to Walter Mondale.

With a prediction by Edward Rollins, director of Reagan-Bush '84, that the president can lose his reelection bid only "if we really mess up" badly, Reagan is scheduled to leave on Wednesday for campaign events in three key strategic states: Texas, Georgia and New Jersey.

The trip will follow a press conference Tuesday night which almost certainly will be dominated by political questions, giving Reagan his first real chance to match the rhetoric of the Democrats.

The political journey was put together hastily as it became clear last week that the Democrats would emerge from their convention in harmony. Even though Reagan leads handily in most public opinion polls, his campaign foray is a recognition that the Democrats gained ground last week.

Vice-President George Bush is preceding Reagan, hitting the campaign trail on Tuesday with a visit to four cities in Texas, his home state. He will join the president at a Republican rally in Austin on Wednesday.

No Democrat has ever won the White House without Texas. Rollins said Reagan was the strong favourite there right now, and "we're going to try to solidify it early."

Reagan has strong leads in many southern states, but Georgia, the home of former president Carter, is not a Reagan stronghold. He lost Georgia in 1980.

Rollins, while acknowledging that Mondale's running-mate Geraldine Ferraro is "the hottest political attraction in the country today," said it would take three or four weeks for the dust to settle and meaningful polling for the first clue as to whether she is to prove an asset or a liability for Mondale.

He conceded there were risks involved in "running against a bright, articulate woman, especially for a president who has incurred the dis-

favour of many women activists." He noted "a great enthusiasm among Republican women for her candidacy."

Mondale and Ferraro opened their campaign against Reagan in San Francisco on Friday, and called for six specialized debates with the incumbent.

But at the White House, chief of staff James Baker III said that while Reagan "looks forward to debating the Democratic nominee on reasonable terms at a reasonable time" the challenge for half a dozen debates "cannot be taken seriously."

Despite some reports to the contrary, Mondale sought no changes in the Democratic National Committee officers. Chairman Charles Manatt, once a target for removal by the Mondale campaign, was unanimously re-elected, as were the three vice-chairmen, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Indiana, Lynn Cutler of Washington, and Polly Baca of Colorado.

But Mondale aide Michael Berma is now director of the DNC and effectively in control of the committee.

## Soviet mystery truck causes diplomatic rumpus in Bonn

BONN (Reuters). — Moscow and Bonn were still locked in a diplomatic stalemate yesterday over West Germany's refusal to allow a sealed Soviet truck containing a mystery nine-ton cargo to head for home.

There was no sign that the Soviet Union, which insists the cargo is diplomatic baggage and has lodged an official protest with West Germany over the incident, might open the container for inspection.

The white Mercedes operated by Sovtransauto, the Soviet state transport company, remained parked near Helmstedt on the closely-guarded border with East Germany watched by Soviet diplomats but encircled by West German police cars.

The truck carrying nine tons of freight described as diplomatic baggage for the Soviet UN mission in Geneva, left Switzerland unopened earlier this week after the Russians refused Swiss demands to inspect its contents.

West Germany confirmed on Friday that it had been prevented from crossing to East Germany on Thursday because of suspicions about its contents and would not be allowed to move until the Soviet Union gave a satisfactory explanation.

Diplomatic sources said the truck might contain espionage gear and newspapers speculated that it could be engaged in the illegal transfer of strategically sensitive technology.

## Homage paid to anti-Hitler plotters

BERLIN (AP). — West German leaders paid homage Friday to officers, diplomats and the other "July 20th conspirators" executed 40 years ago for trying to kill Adolf Hitler with a satchel bomb.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in a nationally televised speech from West Berlin that German resistance leaders had little chance of assassinating Hitler on July 20, 1944 — nine months before the surrender of Nazi Germany.

"But they were ready to sacrifice themselves for the justice and for the future of the fatherland," Kohl said at a midday ceremony in the courtyard of the former Wehrmacht headquarters, where four officers were shot by a firing squad 12 hours after Hitler escaped the blast with minor scratches.

The chairman of West Berlin's Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, has criticized the German resistance movement to Hitler for not being sufficiently concerned about the Nazi persecution and the mass killing of the Jews.

Galinski's remark was the first official German Jewish reference to most recent scientific publications which documented the anti-Semitic bias of the German resistance movement. (AP, JTA)

## Peruvian official pledges anti-Semitism probe

LIMA (JTA). — Peru's Interior Minister Luis Perovich Roca has promised to investigate the recent appearance of anti-Semitic literature in Peru, the World Jewish Congress reported Friday.

Roca made this pledge during discussions with a delegation from the Asociacion Judia del Peru, the representative body of Peruvian Jewry and the WJC affiliate here, a WJC spokesman said.

The Jewish leaders brought with them documentation concerning various publications of an anti-Semitic nature widely available in Peru. In particular they referred to the recent appearance of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which is being sold in weekly instalments.

## U.S. union calls for worldwide El Al boycott

MIAMI (AP). — An American union that has been on strike against El Al for four months called Friday for a worldwide labour boycott of the carrier.

"Don't touch their freight, don't touch their passengers," said Charles Bryan, president of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 100. Bryan said unions in other countries and the AFL-CIO, the huge U.S. labour federation, had agreed to support the boycott.

The boycott call followed a refusal by El Al negotiators to hire back 5 to 10 per cent of the airline's 230 workers in the U.S. if they ended their strike. Bryan said.

David Schneider, El Al general manager for North and South America, said: "We do not anticipate any problems whatsoever. We have been struck for over four months now and we have had no disruption of services."

Schneider also said that more than half of the striking American workers have put down their picket signs voluntarily and already are back to work.

## U.S. firms fined for Arab boycott violations

WASHINGTON (AP). — Two American companies have agreed to pay fines to settle charges they violated U.S. export laws aimed at prohibiting U.S. firms from cooperating with the boycott of Israel by Arab nations, the U.S. Commerce Department said Friday.

The companies agreed to the civil penalties without admitting or denying any wrongdoing, officials said.

The companies were identified as Export Agencies Corp., a Freeport, New York, exporter of automotive parts and accessories, and Bruhal International Corp., an export broker in Rumson, New Jersey.

## Fly found aboard Soviet space station

MOSCOW (AP). — A bug has been discovered aboard the Salyut-7 orbiting space station carrying six cosmonauts, Radio Moscow reported Friday.

"It seems a fly hitched a ride to the space station and the crew is watching with interest how it adapts to its new environment," the radio said. The broadcast said the crew was somewhat amused by the discovery that the fly apparently had been aboard the Soyuz T-12 which was launched on Tuesday with three cosmonauts aboard, including a woman.

The official news agency Tass said the cosmonauts had inaugurated a Soviet-French experiment to study the effects of zero gravity on plants in space.

NEWS STRIKE. — Newspapers were not published throughout Bangladesh for the ninth day yesterday as a strike by over 10,000 newsmen and other employees continued in support of wage claims.

## Soviet Embassy in Beirut hit by anti-tank rocket

BEIRUT (AP). — Druse and Christian militiamen traded artillery barrages south of Beirut early yesterday, shortly after the Soviet Embassy was hit by an anti-tank rocket in the Lebanese capital.

Police said the overnight fighting pitted Druse militiamen at Shuafat against Christian irregulars in Kfar Chima. The two neighbouring towns at the foothills of Lebanon's Central Mountains are about eight kilometres south of Beirut.

The sounds of artillery blasts were clearly heard in the capital as the duels went on from midnight until dawn yesterday, when they tapered off. Police said they had no casualty reports.

It was the third straight night of hostilities in the area as a Lebanese Army military committee worked on a security plan to disengage civil war combatants in the Central Mountains.

The plan is to be the second stage of a Syrian-backed security operation that was launched in Beirut three weeks ago to end the reign of militias and halt the nine-year civil war.

The attack on the Soviet Embassy compound in the Moslem half of the capital occurred about two hours before the outbreak of the Shuafat-Kfar Chima exchanges.

A Christian militia yesterday began storing its heavy weapons in a depot supervised by Lebanese and French military observers in Christian East Beirut.

Lebanese television showed the observers watching militiamen of the Christian Lebanese Forces stacking mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and heavy machine guns at a depot in the Tahwita district of East Beirut.

## Lone skyjacker surrenders, decries Israelis in Lebanon

BEIRUT (AP). — A lone hijacker with a fake petrol bomb released all 146 passengers and crew members from a Middle East Airlines jet yesterday shortly after the commandeered plane landed at Beirut.

The hijacker, identified by state-run Beirut Radio as Atef Zein, a Shiite Moslem from Southern Lebanon, first freed about 90 women and children passengers and then agreed to let the rest go in exchange for being allowed to hold a plane-side photo-taking session with journalists.

The radio said the skyjacker told Lebanese government and other negotiators that he had staged the hijack to "dramatize the plight of South Lebanon under Israeli occupation."

Zein seized the plane half an hour after it took off from Abu Dhabi on a regular flight to Lebanon, airport and MEA officials here said.

The hijacking came only 12 days after Beirut Airport reopened following a record five-month shutdown caused by fighting in Beirut.

יחיד יתד  
אנשים  
מחלישים

מחל  
החזנה הלכות  
הליכוד

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our beloved  
**KORNELIA HOLZER BRAND**  
the unveiling of the tombstone will take place on Tuesday, July 24, 1984, at 5 p.m. at the Kfar Samir Cemetery.  
We shall meet at the entrance.  
The Family

We regret to announce the untimely death of our dear member  
**ARYEH (Lou) SEGAL**  
Beit Kfar Hanassi

With deep sorrow, we announce the sudden passing of our beloved husband and father  
**JACK (Isaac) PILA**  
The funeral will take place today, Sunday, July 22, leaving at 11 a.m. from the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour, Jerusalem.  
Lena, Kresla, Esther and Bracha Pila

## Miss America asked to give up crown

ATLANTIC CITY, New Jersey (Reuters). — The first black winner of the Miss America beauty contest was asked to resign on Friday because nude photographs of her will be published in a glossy magazine.

Organizers of the 63-year-old competition, whose winners are meant to idealize traditional American womanhood, made the unanimous decision after *Penthouse* magazine said it would print the photographs of 21-year-old Vanessa Williams.

The black-and-white pictures, taken by a freelance photographer before the contest, include frontal poses and embraces with another nude woman and are scheduled to appear in the September issue.

Pageant director Albert Marks called their publication "sensationalism of the worst kind." He said Williams had been given until tomorrow to decide if she will give up the crown.

## PLO wants to open office in Chilean capital

SANTIAGO (Reuters). — Chile's Arab community will formally ask Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization to open an office in Santiago, a Chilean Arab said Friday.

The semi-official Orbe news agency quoted Nelson Haddad, president of the Pan American Palestinian Federation, as telling a press conference that the request would be made soon.

Haddad, a Chilean, was giving details of the federation's recent congress in the Brazilian city of Sao Paulo.

Chile's military government is on good terms with Israel, which is an important arms supplier and has provided training for some Chilean soldiers, according to military sources.

## Outlawed Sikh group declares 'war' on Gandhi

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — An outlawed organization of militant Sikh students yesterday declared a "war of liberation" against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government as violence and possible sabotage continued in Punjab.

The call came as security forces killed one suspected Sikh extremist and arrested more than 40 as repair work continued at the Golden Temple in the Sikh holy city of Amritsar.

In a 14-page statement delivered to Reuters, the banned All-India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) appealed to all Sikhs to "liberate" suspected Sikh extremists detained by security forces.

The statement, issued by AISSF senior vice-president Sardar Atinderpal Singh, said that he had taken over the federation following the death of its president, Amrik Singh, who was killed when Indian troops last month stormed the Golden Temple to root out extremists waging a guerrilla war for a separate Sikh state called Khakhsistan.

## Tremors felt in Amman

AMMAN (Reuters). — Two mild earth tremors were felt in Amman yesterday, and seismologists placed the epicentre 30 kilometres from the Jordanian capital.

There were no reports of casualties or damage.

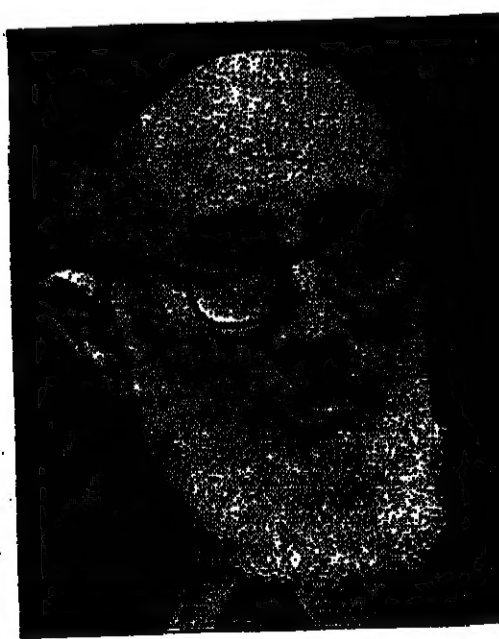
POPULATION. — The population of the 15 republics comprising the Soviet Union is now calculated at 275 million, according to a Tass news agency report quoting the Central Statistical Board as of July 1.

## State of Israel Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset

### Lists of Candidates — Names and Letter Symbols

The Central Elections Committee wishes to inform the public of the names and letter symbols of all the lists of candidates approved by the Committee, standing for election to the Eleventh Knesset. (They are listed in alphabetical order of Hebrew letter symbol.)

Letter Symbol	Name of List
1. אגודת ישראל	The Alignment (Hamasrah)
2. ב	National Religious Party — Hamizrachi, Hapoel Hamizrachi, and Unaffiliated
3. ג	Tora Jewry — Agudat Yisrael
4. ד	Lova Khav for the Knesset
5. ה	Shinui — The Centre Party
6. ו	Has-Mas, Movement for the Abolition of Income Tax
7. ז	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality — Israel Communist Party (Rakah), the Black Panthers, and Public Groups of Jews and Arabs
8. ח	The Movement for Renewal, headed by Mordechai Ben-Porat
9. ט	Amcha
10. י	Yehad, the Movement for National Unity
11. יא	Movement for the Homeland
12. יב	Ometz — for Economic Recovery
13. יג	Atama'ut, headed by Ezra Zohar
14. יד	Kach, founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane
15. טו	Halikud
16. טז	Tami — Israel Tradition Movement
17. טז	Movement for Immigration and Young People
18. יז	Tenants Protection League
19. יח	Morasha, Matzad — P.A.I.
20. יט	Progressive List for Peace
21. כ	Organization for the Disabled
22. כא	Development and Peace
23. כב	Citizens Rights and Peace Movement
24. כג	Shiluv — Independent Indian Immigrants
25. כד	Sephardi Tora Guardians
26. כה	Tahiya-Tzomet



I wish the National Religious Party (MAFDAL) the best of success in the forthcoming elections.

Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchick  
Boston, Mass.



## THE SAME LANGUAGE

THE MORNING I met Amnon Rubinstein at Shinui's modest offices in a quiet Tel Aviv back street, Labour campaign chief Mordechai Gur was quoted as warning potential Shinui voters that their ballots might benefit the Likud, because of the surplus vote pooling agreement the centre party has reached with Ezer Weizman's Yabad.

Shinui's chairman explained: "We reached our agreement with Weizman in order to prevent our surplus votes going to the Likud. It's not generally understood that under the old voting distribution bill, any surplus votes not included in a pooling agreement will accrue to the Likud and the religious parties. We were unable to make a deal with Lova Eliav, so what we could minimize the chances of our votes going to the right. Personally I do not believe that Weizman will join a Likud coalition. After all, he has gone on record as saying he will never sit together with Tehiya."

Rubinstein added: "Anyone who votes Shinui has a chance of doubling the value of his ballot, because of what we stand for. With all our reservations over Labour, we both belong to the camp of sane Zionism. Despite everything, we are commit-

ted to a Labour-led coalition government. For with Labour we can quarrel in the same Zionist language. With the Likud we don't have any kind of communication. Anyone voting for Shinui supports a coalition with the hard core of Labour and Shinui. Anyone who votes Labour stands a risk of having a government made up of Labour, the NRP, Tami and Agudat-Yisrael. A sizeable segment of Labour would favour such a coalition."

THE GENIAL SHINUI chairman was rather tired and his throat was hoarse after campaigning daily up and down the country. Despite a shortage of funds, the polls predict that the party will double from its two MKs (Rubinstein and Mordechai Virshubsky) to four.

"We had little time on TV and radio because the system is loaded in favour of the big parties. They poured in millions, appealed to the lowest common denominator and we had to keep within the bounds of \$300,000 we had in our campaign coffers," Shinui's leader explained. He was delighted at the response of volunteers to help Shinui in the current campaign.

Rubinstein speaks of his party's record as the watch-dog of civil liberties



## Small party views

The Post's MARK SEGAL meets Shinui's Amnon Rubinstein and CRM's Shulamit Aloni



ties in the past: "We've shown that even a small party can be effective without proportion to its size in the Knesset." He recalled his party's catalytic role in the formation of the Kahan Commission and in the process that forced Ariel Sharon out of the Defence Ministry. He also pointed out the valiant struggle of Virshubsky and himself to prevent the holding of a secret ballot on the vote for the dissolving of the 10th Knesset, and holding early elections.

"Our record indicates what we might do if we had a bigger Knesset faction, which would afford us an even stronger impact on developments. It's a paradox that, although a smaller party, we favour electoral reform. It's to be regretted that the

Labour Alignment is divided on this major issue with the Moshav movement, old Ahud Ha'avoda and Mapam strongly against. If we had our way, there would not be small parties, but instead there would be a decentralized political system with each MK accountable to his constituency. Under the present system, we have monolithic parties dominated by party functionaries."

AMNON RUBINSTEIN believes that Shinui most resembles Western parties. "We speak the same kind of language as Israelis from Western countries. We want a tolerant and liberal society. We seek the adoption of a written constitution, a bill of rights and less government interven-

tion in the economy. We fight for equal rights for non-Orthodox trends in Judaism."

"We are in the forefront of the battle against the current wave of racism and terror inundating our society. A vote for Shinui will be meaningful. By doubling or tripling the power of Shinui you will get much more political value than getting anonymous 51st and 52nd Labour candidates, picked by a selection committee. Anyone who wants to get more return for his vote, should pick our ballot, so as to turn Israel into the kind of society that will attract Western immigrants."

The Shinui leader feared that the 11th Knesset might be a terrible place, with a sizeable bloc of the ultra-right. Kahane might get in and be able to exploit "the excessive immunity of MKs" to spread his poisonous credo, in alliance with the zealots of Tehiya. Behind them will loom the bulky figure of Arik Sharon and his Herut disciples. Hence the need for a strengthened bloc of enlightened MKs.

It was no coincidence, Rubinstein said, that so many leading figures in industry and business support Shinui. The party voted against raising income tax above 66 per cent, and against raising national insurance advances on self-employed.

Accusing the Likud of having ruined the country's economy, Rubinstein declared: "It's odd that the Likud should talk of itself as the national camp, after it ruined the national economy, trebled the national debt and destroyed the national currency."

A vote for Shinui, he said, was a vote for the fight for higher standards in public life: "It's time the ministers stop preaching belt-tightening, when the only belts they tighten are of safety belts on departing planes. They can't preach public spending cuts after squandering \$800,000 on comedians to do TV spots. No we're not naive, we believe we're realistic. Otherwise, what kind of Israel will be left?"

## Weizmann confidante dead at 89

By HYAM CORNEY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. Flora Solomon, a close friend and confidante of Chaim and Vera Weizmann in London in the early days of the Zionist struggle, has died here aged 89. In the last few years of her remarkable life, she achieved international notice when it became known that she was responsible in the 1960s for tipping off British intelligence that Kim Philby was a Soviet spy.

Born in imperial Russia into a wealthy family, she came to Britain in 1915 and soon became friendly with the Weizmanns. It was in her house that Vera fell ill, dying shortly after.

During World War II, Solomon became involved in welfare work, persuading the British government to provide food and shelter for the homeless. Her work was recognized with the award of the MBE.

Soon after the establishment of the State, Solomon was brought over by Golda Meir to organize welfare work on behalf of the thousands of immigrants pouring into Israel.

She worked for many years for Marks and Spencer and created a welfare department for its staff. Her late husband, Colonel Harold Solomon, was appointed by Herbert Samuel as a member of the Mandatory administration in Palestine.

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## NATURAL PARTNER

SHULAMIT ALONI, that feisty fighter for the Good Cause, has hopes of increasing the Knesset representation of her Citizens' Rights Movement. Yet she has her hands full combatting the argument fostered in the 1981 elections by Amos Oz and Yossi Sarid on Labour TV spots that only the largest party in the Knesset can form a coalition.

"It's untrue. The President calls on the leader of the largest parliamentary bloc, and not just the biggest faction, to form a government. Don't forget that after Begin resigned, President Herzog called on Yitzhak Shamir, rather than Shimon Peres, to form the new cabinet. That was despite Labour having 50 seats and the Likud 46. Shamir managed to muster a bigger bloc of MKs. We belong to the Labour camp, just as Tehiya is the Likud's natural partner," she explained.

In addition to her old comrades in the battle for civil rights, Aloni's list has been augmented by some prominent members of Peace Now. Unlike some of Labour's MKs, there was no danger of any CRM mandate crossing the party line, she said, noting: "If Yitzhak Peretz and Amnon Linn could cross from Likud to Labour, they can do the same in reverse again." A vote for CRM was "a net vote against the Likud and for all those ideas that Labour hasn't dared speak up about in this campaign. Such as cessation of unnecessary settlements, prevention of religious coercion, revision of the religious status quo, and so forth."

The CRM leader waxed indignant when contemplating the Labour Party campaign: "They appear to be seeking legitimacy from the Likud that they are just as patriotic. It seems that the Labour leadership has lost its self-confidence. That's why the Alignment needs a strengthened CRM to get regular infusions of faith in the possibility of defeating the Likud."

She was deeply anxious about trends fostered under the seven years of Likud rule. "The state education has become religious, and state religious education has become non-Zionist ultra-Orthodox. All this talk of 'returning to our roots' involves extending religious influence with distinct Khomenistic overtones of opposing Western cultural influences, and against any kind of rationalist approach to Israel's problems."

IN THE PAST seven years, she charged, the school system has moulded a generation of chauvinists. "There will have to be much work done by teacher-parent committees to introduce more enlightened education into our schools, especially the high schools, which under Zevulun Hammer have been opened up to extremist influences like that of Rafal Eitan and Gush Emunim appointees. You ask why Labour did not mention education in its campaign. I surmise it plans to leave Hammer in charge," Aloni said.

True, Shimon Peres had assured her he would try to form a government without the religious parties if at all possible, but she was not hopeful that that option would be available on Tuesday morning.

Few people were aware of what she called the design to propel Israel along the road towards theocracy. The Religious Courts Bill was waiting in the shadows. It was drafted by an NRP activist, Simha Meron, official in charge of rabbinical courts in the Religious Affairs Ministry. Meron had explained his bill's intention in an NRP discussion. Aloni quoted him as saying: "It is our aspiration to turn Israel into a society governed by Halacha, wherein the non-observant will be treated as all other criminals."

The bill had been submitted to the cabinet legislative committee for discussion by the minister, Dr. Burg, and had become part of the Likud-NRP coalition agreement. Under the bill's terms, the judiciary would

be subordinate to the rabbinical courts, which will also enjoy authority over the application of the Law of Return, the Population Registry Law and the vetting of marriages conducted abroad. Aloni saw no reason to suppose that Labour would quarrel with the NRP on this matter.

SHE REGARDED these elections as a watershed in Israeli history. "If the Likud should re-establish its power then our society will become engulfed in a wave of ultra-nationalism intolerant Orthodox, and the practice of the credo 'Might is Right.'"

She feared the kind of extremist element that would take seats in the 11th Knesset, and wondered about Labour's inhibitions in its election campaign. Was it, she asked, only because they feared to hurt disillusioned Likudniks, or were they glancing from the corners of their eyes at a possible Grand Coalition with the Likud? While CRM (and Shinui) had tackled the threat posed by Ariel Sharon in their TV spots, Labour had only occasionally mentioned him. She thought that might reflect "the special relationship between Sharon and Yitzhak Rabin. After all, Sharon was aide to Rabin when the latter was premier, and Rabin counselled then-defence minister Sharon during the siege of Beirut."

Aloni spoke of "the utterly irresponsible line" taken by Progressive List candidate Mati Peled in the Arab townships. "He's as bad as Gush Emunim, at the other end of the spectrum. I heard that when he addressed a rally in Kafr Kassem, he not only advocated a Palestinian state but the application of the Law of Return to Arab refugees. I told my Arab listeners that that's a sure formula for war."

Aloni conceded that Lova Eliav was taking votes from the CRM, "so that he will be able to rejoin the Labour Party machine which he operated for years. He has a record of dividing parties. He founded Sheli together with ex-Communists like Yair Tzaban, Meir Pe'il, Uri Avneri and Black Panthers Sa'adia Marciano. Then he ditched them. The time we felt we have the potential of six seats, so we opened our movement to members of Peace Now and we asked Lova to join us. But he refused. He wanted to be catapulted to the top of the Labour list. When they turned him down, he decided to become a spoiler of the effort of forming a force capable of helping to bring the Likud down."

Desultory discussions had been held with Shinui, but each party decided to go it alone. Anyway she added, "We do represent different constituencies. We derive from the Labour Movement and are Social Democrats, while Shinui is within the Liberal stream, and speaks for a middle-class, professional constituency. Of course we will continue to cooperate, as in the past. We share common views on civil liberties, the fight for democracy, but differ as regards the Histadrut and the right to strike."

In 1976 she left Rabin's cabinet, where she served as minister without portfolio, because he preferred the NRP.

"It was a time when Golda still ruled the party, which cleaved to her commitment to the NRP regarding the territories."

This time, unlike Lova, she took pains to point out she could have run on a "safe" Labour Alignment seat. But she decided to go it alone to seek votes for her party's role as the sentinel of civil liberties and against clericalism.

As to a likely coalition, Aloni said significantly: "I'm ready to sit alongside the NRP in any government. However, if they promise Burg and Hammer to enact the Rabbinical Courts bill, I'll stay out. But I will vote for a Labour government, in order to keep the Likud out."

### THE JEWISH AGENCY ISRAELI EDUCATION FUND

TENDER No. 81/502/84

1. THE JEWISH AGENCY (hereinafter the Agency) invites tenders from building contractors for the construction of GYMNASIUM AND 4 TENNIS COURTS AT THE KAYE SEMINAR IN BEERSHEVA.
2. The projected construction is on an area of 1200 sq.m.
3. Conditions of the tender as well as all other pertinent information can be obtained from Thursday, July 26, 1984 from the Agency, 17 Kaplan Street, Tel Aviv, room 717 between 9.00 a.m.-12 noon, against a non-refundable deposit of IS 15,000.
4. A special tour of the construction site for contractors will be held on Thursday, August 2, 1984, departing at 10 a.m. from the Kaye Seminar, Yehuda Halevy St., Beersheva.
5. Bids should be submitted not later than 1.00 p.m. on Wednesday, August 22, 1984, at the address mentioned in paragraph 3 above.
6. Conditions of payment, in cash, to be arranged according to the contract to be signed.
7. This tender is open only to contractors registered in accordance with the Act regarding Registration of Contractors for the execution of Engineering and Construction Works 1969, such contractors to abide by requirements of the Act and to be eligible to carry out the works as specified.
8. The Agency does not undertake to accept the lowest, or any other bid.

### THE JEWISH AGENCY ISRAELI EDUCATION FUND

TENDER No. 81/510/84

1. THE JEWISH AGENCY (hereinafter the Agency) invites tenders from building contractors for ENLARGEMENT AND REPAIRS AT THE COMMUNITY CENTRE IN THE JOSEPHAT NEIGHBOURHOOD, PETACH TIKVA, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PROJECT RENEWAL.
2. The projected construction is 800 sq.m. enlargement, and 730 sq.m. repairs.
3. Conditions of the tender as well as all other pertinent information can be obtained from Wednesday, July 24, 1984 from the Agency, 17 Kaplan Street, Tel Aviv, room 717 between 9.00 a.m.-12 noon, against a non-refundable deposit of IS 10,000.
4. A special tour of the construction site for contractors will be held on Sunday, July 29, 1984 departing at 9 a.m. from the Community Centre - Josephat, Petach Tikva.
5. Bids should be submitted not later than 1.00 p.m. on Wednesday, August 22, 1984, at the address mentioned in paragraph 3 above.
6. Conditions of payment, in cash, to be arranged according to the contract to be signed.
7. This tender is open only to contractors registered in accordance with the Act regarding Registration of Contractors for the execution of Engineering and Construction Works 1969, such contractors to abide by requirements of the Act and to be eligible to carry out the works as specified.
8. The Agency does not undertake to accept the lowest, or any other bid.

### Dear Citizen,

Now more than ever you can decide: a stable government or splinter parties. You know very well that the Likud Government has failed. You are convinced that this Government must be changed now. The present government has flopped therefore give your vote now for the one and only alternative.

This alternative has one name:

ALIGNMENT — HAMA'ARACH — המערך

A large and strong Alignment means a stable government — able to govern. A stable government will be ready the day after the elections, to act upon the immediate issues and take up the burden of the Likud heritage. No party is "more aligned than the Alignment." Remember, no party will become a partner to the Alignment without conditions.

Do not forget, only a few years ago DASH was formed with the sincere intent to be "more aligned than the Alignment." But the same DASH in the end gave the Likud a large majority. This time you can help to make an historic and essential change in the annals of Israel. Do not miss the opportunity. Do not split the map. Do not leave us open to pressure and blackmail.

Give us the chance to form a government able to move mountains, מנת-ב-ב

המערך

המערך הוא התקווה היחידה.

סכנת מלחמה





An 18th-century divorce hearing before a rabbinical court.

## A matter of authority

Couples seeking a divorce may soon have fewer people to turn to for help, Lea Levavi reports.

MOSHE ANTELMAN, an American rabbi who wanted to help those imprisoned in unhappy marriages, could face prison himself for breaking Israeli law. "As soon as we have enough material to incriminate him, we will not hesitate to go to the police," Rabbi Simcha Meron, director of the rabbinical courts, told *The Jerusalem Post* in a special interview.

Antelman, who earns his living as a chemist and does all his rabbinic work as a volunteer, established (with several other rabbis) a supreme rabbinical court in the U.S. "Rabbi Antelman is not known to any of the rabbinic organizations in the U.S.," Rabbi Meron said, "and in the case of one of the members of his court who is known in the American rabbinic world, his colleagues were unaware of his activities on Antelman's court."

Antelman tried to help two Israelis: Ruth Yabloni, whose husband refuses to give her a divorce after long years of litigation in the rabbinical courts, and Yosef Hakim whose wife refuses to accept a divorce from him after many long years of court battles. "The divorce he gave Yabloni is against the *Halacha*," Meron said, "because there are only a few exceptional cases in which the court can compel a spouse to give or accept a divorce, such as infertility, diseases which prevent marital relations or endanger the spouse, proven cruelty (here the difficulty is proof) or cases where a spouse has changed his or her religion. If the Yabloni case is against the *Halacha*, the Hakim case is against the law, because the law states that anyone who dissolves a man's marriage without the woman's consent and without the authority of a rabbinical court is liable to five years imprisonment."

Meron said he as yet has no proof that Antelman actually gave Hakim a divorce; all he knows is that Antelman wrote Mrs. Hakim a letter threatening to grant the divorce if she does not accept a divorce from her husband by a specified date. If and when Meron has proof that Antelman's court wrote the bill of divorce for Hakim, the matter will go to the police, Meron said. But where does that leave Yabloni, Hakim and dozens of others who have been in the rabbinical courts for many years with no divorce in sight? The interview with Antelman published in *The Post* several months ago resulted in many requests for his address, another sign that the rabbinical courts are not solving the problem.

"If you would go to any court and offer those who lost cases an alternative place to bring their grievances, you would find many customers," Meron said. "Those who lose in the rabbinical courts are not prisoners, as some would have us think."

He said one reason many cases linger in the courts for so many years is that the spouse who claims to want the divorce is not always sure he or she wants it.

Economic considerations, or the fear of being alone, can make the plaintiff abandon the case and try reconciliation, until the next quarrel brings the case back to court. In another case, the problem is that one spouse really does want a divorce but the other does not and will not be forced into it except in the special cases mentioned earlier.

"Marriage is agreed upon by both parties and we feel it should not be ended purely because one partner is tired of the other or tired of marriage. If both partners do not agree to end the marriage, the marriage continues," Meron said. As for those who suffer from this interpretation of *Halacha*, Meron said they have three choices. They can accept their fate and try to make

the marriage work after all; they can accept their fate and live apart from their spouse; or they can buy their divorce by giving their spouse inducements to agree to it. Meron knows this last route means extortion, and he does not claim that it is in the spirit of the Jewish law. Nevertheless, it is the reality of the situation, he said.

There are those who would contend that the rabbinical courts here are a bureaucracy which fails to interpret *Halacha* in the light of changing times. Not only Antelman, but people such as Rabbi Professor Rackman, president of Bar-Ilan University, will tell you that some of the problems which seem insoluble today were solved according to the *Halacha* in the Middle Ages. However, the authority to grant divorces has been bestowed by the Knesset on the rabbinical courts and not on anyone else. "Even the private religious courts of Neturei Karta and other ultra-Orthodox groups are careful not to grant divorces without coordinating us," Meron said.

Sylvia Mandelbaum, founder of Mitzvah (the League for Family Rights in the Courts) wants very much to be neutral in the Antelman/Meron controversy, but she finds it difficult. "We are against injustice," she said, "whether in rabbinical courts or anywhere else. The *Halacha* is universal, without geographical boundaries, and if there is a rabbi who can help people the rabbinical courts are not helping, why shouldn't they benefit from his help? Is it my fault the Knesset passed crazy laws?"

The Knesset laws are binding, however, and the only interpretation of *Halacha* which is relevant to an individual's prospects for getting a divorce is the interpretation accepted by the official rabbinical courts.

"Contrary to what the media and others would lead you to think, our biggest problems are with the civil law, not with the *Halacha*," Meron said. "For example, rabbinical courts have no jurisdiction in cases where one spouse is in Israel and the other is outside the country. We have one case of a classic *agunah* (deserted wife) where a man went back to Iran and became a Shiite clergyman, leaving his wife here. If he were here, we could force him to give her a divorce because he changed his religion, but since he is in Iran, and contact is a problem since the revolution there, we can do nothing for the woman. (Prior to the revolution, he said, efforts were made to get Shiite religious leaders to convince the man to divorce his Jewish wife, without success.)"

Mitzvah tries to solve some of these problems through mediation and, where necessary, by exerting social pressure by holding demonstrations in front of the place of employment of a husband who refuses to give his wife a divorce. "What Mitzvah and other similar organizations do is fine," Meron said, "as long as someone does not take the *Halacha* into their own hands and take over cases which are before the rabbinical courts."

"Even in cases where both a rabbinical court and a civil court have jurisdiction (such as child custody or maintenance payments), one court will not hear the case while the other is hearing it," Antelman, he said, snatched cases out from under the noses of the rabbinical courts.

Antelman himself is out of the country and cannot be reached for comment.

(Those interested in contacting Mitzvah may write to the organization c/o POB 3186, Jerusalem.)

## Not a priority issue

Joanne Yaron

IT IS rather audacious to write an article on tomorrow's election in a column about women. Women, after all, had very little to say in the selection of the candidates, in the definition of the issues, in the writing of the party platforms, in the setting of the political priorities and in the running of the campaigns.

While it is true that in this year's election campaign most parties took the time to pay a little lip service (it's in fashion) to the burning issues of equal rights, status and opportunities for women, this was generally done in a patronizing, albeit "gentlemanly" fashion.

With the exception of the one party led by a woman (and even that one, to a certain extent), all the political groups, as usual, seemed to feel that these were not priority issues.

Can it really be that what is of interest and concern to 51 per cent of the population is of minor importance?

Has it not occurred to any of these party platform writers and priority setters that what's good for that many people is very possibly good for all? One dares not think that these architects of our political future don't consider women people!

Since no one is altruistic in politics, it should be considered that if the country really wants more than one-third of its adult women to engage in paid labour, it will have to do something about making it more attractive and sometimes just making it possible. As long as women bear the major - often the entire - burden of household and child management, no matter how glorious an occupation it is (funny, how the beauties of carrying out the tasks of daily life are always praised by those who don't do them!), they are simply not going to be able to join the paid labour force with the seriousness and dedication that is required by these technological times. Many will still succumb to hanging their degrees, diplomas, certificates or natural talents over the kitchen sink or baby's cot.

Everybody knows what the solutions are, and everybody includes them in their party platforms, but nobody does anything about them once the election campaign is over.

It's simply easier, and maybe less threatening to our brothers, to import Irish engineers, as was recently reported in the press.

Why indeed should a woman,

## ABOUT WOMEN/THE ELECTIONS



Golda Meir: A token woman

(David Rubinger)

even a highly talented one, kill herself in the job market and at home, when she knows that she has less chance of advancement in salary and status; when she knows that to gain a mediocre rating she has to produce a superior performance, whether she's turning a knob on the factory floor or creating the company budget and output schedule. Why indeed should women put their shoulders to the grindstone when they have labour laws inhibiting them, so called "equality" laws that are not worth the paper they're written on, smaller pension and other social benefits than their male colleagues, unfair tax structures, insufficient legal protection from harassment at the workplace and in general, and minimal social services from a society that claims it needs them.

Nobody likes to be made a fool of, not even a woman.

Why is it that Israeli women are in this situation? After all, unlike the women of Lichtenstein who were granted the right to vote by their menfolk a few weeks ago, the women of Israel have had the vote since before the state was established. True, the struggle was bitter and harsh, but the achievement was made. And after all, unlike the women of the U.S. who finally have a female candidate for vice president, Israeli women had a female prime minister.

Can it be that the right to vote and the right to work is not enough? Can it be that a token woman, "the only man in the cabinet," is not what is needed? Could it be that what is really required is political power for more women who comprehend the issues behind the struggle for equality. Not just tokens in the first five or 10 on that list, but sensitized women who are in real decision-making positions in key party and Knesset committees. And that means positions relating to where the money goes and what the priorities are.

Imagine having a woman as minister of finance? It would probably be considered a joke.

Women who vote tomorrow will

not, in most cases, even be thinking of these issues, because they have no legitimacy in our society. Women who vote tomorrow will, for the most part, be voting for men, most of whom have no real comprehension of the issues at stake for women.

The lack of power of 51 per cent of the population is not good for this or any country. Yet, we are given no choice. Tomorrow's election will probably result in eight female Knesset members, which is one less than the outgoing Knesset. The most so far was in the first Knesset, which had 11.

Even if all the smaller parties double, or in some cases triple, their expected mandates, at most there will be 10 or 11 women in the Knesset.

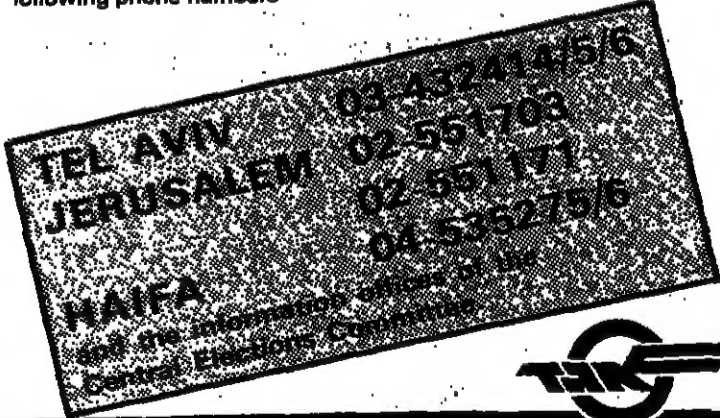
What happened to the Alignment's promise of saving 20 per cent of the safe seats on their list for women? The promise was "kept" by their having four instead of five women in the first 50 slots. What happened to the Likud women? Nothing. It's still the same, just two in safe spots. What happened to Geula Cohen, who founded the Tehiya party? She has now dropped to number three from number two. What happened to the National Religious Party, whose women bolted at the beginning of the race and threatened to run separately? They came back in the end and none are in safe slots. What happened to Shinui? No *shinui* (change). The first woman on the list is number six. And Weizman's new Yehad party? The first woman is number seven. Even the party headed by a woman, Rutz, has its next female only in slot number five. The other parties don't even seem to care about fielding tokens.

It has been said that the quality of a society can be judged by the status it grants its women. While we're not the worst, we are certainly far from the best.

Tomorrow is this year's election finale. Maybe it is time for women to start writing the next script, before the curtain on the voting booth goes down again.

### CHANGES in EGGED TIMETABLES on Elections Day!

On elections day, some Egged routes will not run. None of the routes that do operate will start before 8 a.m. Details of cancellations and changes are available from the following phone numbers —



Fed Up With The Likud And The Ma'arach?

Vote Tomorrow for an Independent!

Mordechai Ben Porat.

Who will work for withdrawal — with security — of troops from Lebanon • Electoral reform • A sane economy • Religious freedom for Conservative and Reform Jews • Knesset accountability to the people.

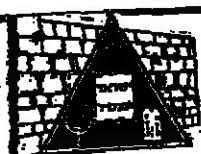
### TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

HEBREW STUDIES UNIT announces the opening of an Intensive Morning Hebrew Ulpan Dates: August 14th — October 4th

Registration:

Office of the unit of Hebrew Studies Student Dormitories, Bldg. B, Entrance 4 Dates: July 22 — August 9

Sunday-Thursday 8.30 a.m.-1.00 p.m. Tel. 03-420947



Lecturer: Subject: Venue:

Today, July 22 at 8.00 p.m. Rabbi Louis Bernstein, President, Rabbinical Council of America. An American Rabbi Looks at the Elections Young Israel Center, 28 Shmuel Hanagel, Corner King George, Jerusalem 02-225152/3

State of Israel

### Central Elections Committee Eleventh Knesset Notice Concerning Identity Cards

The Central Elections Committee wishes to notify the public that all categories of identity cards issued by the Ministry of the Interior will be valid for voting on Election Day. This includes identity booklets issued immediately upon the establishment of the State.

All such identity cards or booklets must contain a page with photograph and page for the voting stamp. Owners of new identity cards with a separate section, must present both the identity card and the separate section at the polling booth.

Soldiers doing regular army and active reserve duty, who wish to cast their ballots at a military polling booth, must present an identity card to do so. New army recruits, whose mobilisation date coincides with Election Day, must bring their identity cards if they desire to vote.

Failure to present such identity card, will prevent them from voting.

Population Registry bureaus of the Ministry of the Interior, will be open for the purpose of issuance of identity cards, also on Tuesday and Thursday, between 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. Requests reaching the Population Registry bureaus until July 17, 1984, will be answered until the day before Election Day.

### Haifa Symphony Orchestra

Renewal and Purchase of Subscription Tickets for the 1984-1985 Season is continuing.

- \* Reductions for payments in cash — until July 25, 1984.
- \* Low prices, 3 equal monthly payments possible.
- \* One free concert for purchasers of 14-concert series.

Hurry up and join the hundreds of subscribers enjoying a musical experience with the Haifa Symphony Orchestra. Send your payment to the Orchestra and your subscription tickets will be mailed to you.

Subscription sales: Haifa Symphony Orchestra, 50 Pevsner St., Haifa. Tel. 04-680741, 04-641973, Sun.-Thurs. 8.00 a.m.-6 p.m., Fri. 8 a.m.-1 p.m. Also from work committees and at places of employment.

### ח"ד HADASH

The only Jewish-Arab list that has stood the test The bridge to peace with the Arab Palestinian people, to recognize a Palestinian state and the June 4, 1967 borders as secure, peace borders.

### GIVE YOUR VOTE TO THE MAIN PEACE LIST

Democratic Front for Peace and Equality — Hadash (Israeli Communist Party, the Black Panthers, and Public Groups of Jews and Arabs) P.O.B. 4895, Tel Aviv. Tel. 229224, 297263

### Notice to Creditors

RE: The Estate of the late HARRY SHACKEL, deceased, who died on June 29, 1983, in Resnane.

Administrators of the said Estate were appointed by the Tel Aviv District Court on June 4, 1984 — Estate File No. 1987/84. In accordance with Section 99 of the Succession Law 1965, the administrators hereby notify creditors, if any, of the above mentioned deceased that they should inform the undersigned of their claims by registered mail within 3 months of the publication of this notice.

Adv. M.B. FINN 94 Albany Road, 68813 Tel Aviv.

### FLY CATHAY PACIFIC

LONDON-HONG KONG non-stop and to the whole FAR EAST Round the World from London via Hong Kong to AUSTRALIA, N.Z., FIJI, HAWAII, LOS-ANGELES \$1725 Only!

Book at any travel office or at the agents: ASIACENTRE P.O.B. 3202, Tel Aviv Tel. 03-228444

### Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset Notice regarding the freedom, secrecy and honesty of the elections

Pursuant to para. 18 of the Election Law (Electoral Methods) 1959, the Chairman of the Central Elections Committee brings to the notice of the public the fact that elections to the Knesset are free and secret. Every citizen is entitled to vote freely and according to his conscience alone for one of the lists of candidates that have been approved for the elections for the Eleventh Knesset.

The Central Elections Committee has taken every appropriate step to ensure the secrecy of the elections, to prevent any possibility of discovering how a citizen voted.

These are the principal methods:

The envelope in which the voter places his ballot card is completely opaque and may be sealed by the voter. Every electioneering booth will be provided with a curtain to guarantee the voter absolute privacy. The voter, and only the voter, is entitled to place his/her ballot card in the envelope and the closed envelope in the ballot box where it is mixed up together with the envelopes of the other voters in the same area. But a person that is sick or disabled, and is unable to vote unaided, may bring another person with him, to provide physical aid.

The Law provides serious penalties for acts of bribery, or threats in connection with the elections, for disturbance of the elections and for voting not according to the provisions of the Law.

Five years imprisonment or a fine of IS 3,000,000 or both may be imposed on anyone who gives or offers a bribe to a voter, in order to influence how he votes; on anyone who accepts or agrees to accept a bribe, in connection with how he will vote; on anyone who threatens a voter with damage if he votes, or alternatively, if he does not vote; on anyone who promises a voter work, or threatens him with dismissal, in order to influence him to vote for any particular list.

Two years' imprisonment or a fine of IS 25,000 or both may be imposed on whoever disturbs the normal conduct of the elections in any way or who presents to a voting-station committee a voter's card or identity card which is not his/her, or who attempts to vote more than once.

I am sure that the provisions of the Law and the arrangements of the Central Elections Committee are sufficient to ensure that every citizen may vote freely, according to his will and conscience.

I call on all voters to use their right to vote. I call on all voters to rest their vote, in accordance with their own choice, and without fear of any kind. Gavriel Bach, Judge of the Supreme Court Chairman, Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset



### World Zionist Organization PRESIDIUM OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

The 11th Knesset Elections — and Elections to the 31st Zionist Congress

The constitution of the World Zionist Organization provides that the apportionment of Israeli delegates to the Zionist Congress is to be in accordance with the "relative strength of the Zionist parties in the last Knesset to be elected prior to the convening of the Congress." Furthermore, according to the constitution, Israel's representation in Zionist Congresses is 38%.

If the 11th Knesset is not disbanded before the 31st Zionist Congress, this Knesset election will also determine the apportionment of Israeli delegates to the 31st Zionist Congress.

The citizens of Israel should be mindful of the fact that in voting for the Knesset they are also determining the apportionment of Israeli delegates to the Zionist Congress.

Ephraim Even Chairman, Zionist General Council







# Sports

## Israeli tennis' greatest day

By JACK LEON and PHILIP GILLON

**FAMAT HASHARON.** - Israel's Davis Cup squad achieved the greatest victory in the country's tennis history when they beat the more-fancied and higher ranked Swiss team 4-1 over the weekend. The victory was due to some inspired tennis on the part of Shlomo Glickstein and Shahar Perkis; the two players on whom coach Ron Steele relied at the I.T.C. Stadium.

The win earns Israel an away match against the Soviet Union in September's zonal final. Israel has never advanced so far in the competition.

The two Israelis won Friday's crucial doubles match against Heinz Gunthardt and his brother Markus 11-9, 6-3, 3-6, 6-3.

Yesterday Glickstein went on to score a great singles victory over Jakob Hasek, the Swiss No. 2, 8-6, 14-12, 6-2. This gave Israel an unshakable 3-1 lead in the tie.

Nevertheless, the last "dead" singles match between Shahar Perkis and Heinz Gunthardt was played in full, resulting in a victory for Perkis, in a match marred by Gunthardt's unsporting conduct.

The doubles on Friday opened with Perkis obviously feeling nervous and playing somewhat below his best form, but nevertheless serving with great power and direction. Glickstein "nursed" his young partner through the early games, encouraging and advising him, and electrifying the crowd with his own perfect half-volleys and lovely passing backhand drives down the tramline.

The games went with service till 6-6, by which time Perkis had settled down completely. The games went on with service to 9-9, but by then it was becoming clear that Markus Gunthardt was the weakest of the four players on court.

Glickstein put in four good first services to win a love game, making the score 10-9, with Markus serving to save the set. Glickstein won the first two points, one with a remarkable instant reaction volley between his two opponents, the second with a great backhand down the line. 0-30. Markus won the next point with his service. 15-30. His next service was weak and Glickstein drove it hard back at his feet to make him miss his pick-up. 15-40. Perkis polished off the set with a terrific backhand drive down the centre of the court. 11-9.

Markus was clearly rattled, and in the second set his service was broken in the fourth game. Both Israelis, sensing his weakness, were putting him under all kinds of pressure, ranging from drives to a marvelous dunk shot past him at the net, produced by Glickstein, that was worthy of John McEnroe at his best. Markus yelled "Quiet!" at the crowd, which was getting increasingly raucous. After breaking Markus, the Israelis sailed on serenely to take the set with ease 6-3.

Then, as so often happens in tennis, the edge seemed to go off the game of the leaders, while the losers

pumped some extra adrenaline into their systems. A great shot by Markus, a lucky net cord and hard hitting by Heinz enabled them to break Glickstein, and to take a 5-3 lead, which Heinz converted into a 6-3 win by means of good serving and volleys.

During this period, Glickstein seemed to be losing his touch, and it was Perkis' turn to carry the pair of them, by serving and driving with great power.

The critical fourth set went with service till the Israelis led 4-3, with Markus to serve. A great passing shot by Glickstein gave Israel the lead, 0-15. Then three good serves took the score to 40-15. But the pressure on Markus, despite all his experience, was too great. He missed an easy net shot, and then served a double. Deuce.

The Israelis lost one break point when a critical Glickstein top spin lob dropped just outside the line. Deuce again. Perkis took his point to give the Israelis the advantage. Then with the two Swiss brothers charging the net, Glickstein produced another top spin lob. This one was in, and it was unplayable. 5-3.

Perkis polished off the match with three excellent first services, placed exactly where Glickstein requested, and eliciting a gruff "Yoffi!" from the Israeli champion. 40-0. The last service, to Heinz, was an ace. Heinz tried in vain to claim that it was out, but was overruled.

Thus the teams moved on to yesterday's reverse singles, with Israel having the upper hand, 2-1 up, and Glickstein, at the top of his form, expected to beat Hasek.

When broke Hasek's serve in the second game, and went on to a 3-0 lead, the match seemed to be all over, but the cheering.

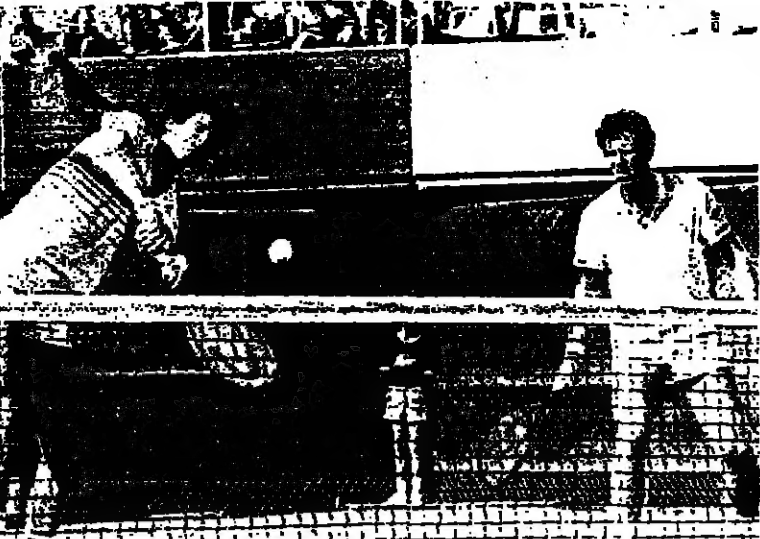
But Hasek had other ideas. He took his service in the fourth game, broke Glickstein in the fourth, and levelled the scores 3-3 in the sixth. From then the games went with service till Glickstein led 7-6.

Serving to save the set, Hasek went into a 40-30 lead. Then Shlomo saved the set point with a shrewd backhand. He got the advantage with the aid of a netcord, but Hasek brought the score back to deuce by some fine tennis.

Then came calamity for the Swiss and an unsatisfactory win for the Israeli. A line judge suddenly yelled "Foot fault!" on Hasek's second service, thus giving Glickstein the advantage. Clearly put off, Hasek lost the set 8-6 by missing a forehand.

The second set started with Hasek producing all the fireworks, and Glickstein looking tired and dejected. In the third game, Glickstein served a double, and Hasek broke his service, to go into a 3-1 lead and then a 4-2 advantage.

The small but vociferous band of Swiss supporters were in ecstasies when Hasek led 0-40 on Glickstein's service in the seventh game. But they reckoned without Glickstein, that supreme professional. Playing perfect all-court tennis, he re-



**ANXIOUS MOMENT.** - Shlomo Glickstein watches anxiously as Shahar Perkis plays a difficult backhand volley in the Davis Cup doubles match at Ramat Hasharon. (Amram Galmion)

versed three points, and went on to take the game 3-4.

Hasek served excellently to take a love game. 5-3. Shlomo won a deuce game. 4-5. Hasek obviously expected to polish off the set with his service. But Glickstein produced two surprise winners, one down the line and the other hard at Hasek's feet, to go into a 15-40 lead. Rattled, Hasek missed an easy shot, and the score was 5-5.

From then on, it went ding-dong, with service, until it reached a grim 12-12, both players showing remarkable agility despite the burning sun that beat down on them. Glickstein's game was noteworthy for his almost uncanny anticipation, that enabled him to return expected winners on shots he had no right to reach and for the wide variety of shots he produced.

Glickstein picked up his service, to make the score 13-12, with a great high backhand volley.

Now Hasek was under great pressure. He served two doubles in the 26th game of the set to give Glickstein two set points at 15-40. During the critical final point, some excited idiot in the crowd yelled "Out!", and Hasek stopped playing: a let was called, depriving Glickstein of a certain point. It did not matter. He finished off the set with a fine shot.

Incidentally, this magnificent "marathon" lasting 90 minutes, was infinitely more exciting than a 7-6 tiebreaker, with its element of Las Vegas gambling, would have been.

Like a boxer with his opponent on the ropes, Glickstein went in hard and fast in the third set, broke Hasek in the second game to get a quick 3-0 lead, which soon became 5-2. Hasek went down 0-40 on his service, fought back bravely to deuce, saved three match points, and then muffed an easy shot to give Glickstein a very well-deserved victory.

The crowd, close to 3,000, was thrilled by a great performance by the two players, and were enthralled by every shot, despite the heat. It is significant of how tennis has become a major participant sport that the crowds comments were far better informed and knowledgeable than they used to be.

This is Israel's 12th win in 42 outings, and is worth \$20,000 in prize money. The winner of each of the four zonal competitions will be promoted to the 16-nation premier

division. The Soviet Union, relegated last year, beat Austria a week ago.

Glickstein, 26, who spearheaded Israel's triumph against Switzerland with wins in all in three rubbers, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday evening: "This is one of the happiest days of my six years on the pro-tennis circuit. It has been a great victory for the Israeli team, the reward for a lot of hard preparation. After our success against Poland and Switzerland, I am optimistic that we can also beat Russia."

Glickstein has now won 19 of his 28 singles rubbers in the Davis Cup, and he also has an impressive record in doubles.

Israel Tennis Association chairman David Harnik told *The Post* that the ITA will cable the International Tennis Association in London to clarify the venue of the final against the Soviet Union, scheduled for September 28 to 30. He pointed out that, under Davis Cup regulations, Russia has "choice of venue," and can opt to hold the tie at home, at a neutral venue, or even in Israel. The first day of the tie, September 28, is the second day of Rosh Hashana, but Harnik did not see any problems in playing on that day.

Although the Soviet Union has generally tried to avoid meeting Israel at home in "two-way" sporting competition - for example in European basketball - in full international events like the Davis Cup, Russia has been willing to host Israeli teams. In recent years, such teams have competed without problems in world judo, weightlifting and wrestling championships.

Shahar Perkis beat Heinz Gunthardt 6-4, 6-4 in the "dead" singles, a match the Swiss champion obviously did not want to play. Reserves can only be used in these "dead" matches, if both sides and the referee agree. Gunthardt apparently did not get that agreement. So he served underhand, jerked at the line and generally made an ass of himself. The local sponsor was Gail Sport.

David Harnik of the Israel Tennis Association announced yesterday that Amos Mansdorf was expelled from the Davis Cup squad "for lack of discipline and for absconding himself from squad training." The ITA's disciplinary committee will discuss today what action to take on Mansdorf, who is due to leave this week to represent Israel at the exhibition tennis in the Los Angeles Olympics.

The sports pages are edited by Philip Gillon and Yaron Kenan.

## Israelis settle in at LA

By TOM TUGEND  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

**LOS ANGELES.** - The Israeli team was officially welcomed to the Olympic Games last week in a brief but moving ceremony at the Olympic village on the grounds of the University of California. The 33 Israeli athletes, 16 coaches and umpires, and 3 officials were greeted by the village mayor, Jim Easton, with Shmuel Lalkin, chief of mission, responding on behalf of the team.

Yacov Evan, the Israeli consul general, paid tribute to the 11 Israelis slain by terrorists at the 1972 Olympiad in Munich. "Your presence," Evan told the athletes, "symbolizes Israel's dedication to freedom and the struggle against terrorism. By your very participation you are all gold medal winners."

Fencer Nilli Dori raised the blue and white colours on the flagstaff to the recorded strains of Hatikvah. The final order of business, the official taking of the team photo, became a somewhat complex undertaking, as the athletes kept breaking ranks to snap pictures of each other.

Security was noticeable at the ceremony, though not as overpowering as at the team's arrival earlier at Los Angeles airport. Heavily armed men from six Federal and local law enforcement agencies blanketed the arrival area, sharpshooters patrolled the roofs of adjacent buildings, and police helicopters circled overhead. Only the Turkish team, also housed at UCLA, has as high a security priority as the Israelis.

Although there have been some complaints about crowded and hot accommodations at the second Olympic village, across town at the University of Southern California, notably by the Egyptians, Lalkin and his deputy Uri Afek are genuinely enthusiastic about their stay.

The rooms, which normally serve as student dormitories, house two athletes to a room "and the food is fantastic," says Afek. "Our main problem is not to eat too much." Other temptations in the village's "main street" include a video arcade, disco, snack bar and hair styling salon.

The Israelis have been deluged by hundreds of invitations from the local Jewish community, but Lalkin said he would have to decline most of them. "Our team is on a 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. training schedule, although much of the time is eaten up by the long distances and travel times between the various training venues," he said.

Yachting coach Yair Michaeli is especially intent on shielding his two star competitors from outside diversions. Eytan Friedlander and Shimon Brockman, entered in the 470 class sailing event, are given the best chance of becoming the first Israelis to bring home an Olympic medal. "We have as good a chance as any of the top eight entries," said Michaeli.

Temperatures for the last two weeks have been hovering around 30 degrees with almost daily episodes of smog. The Los Angeles hosts and athletes from 142 countries fervently hope that the heat and air pollution will be lower when the Games start on Saturday.

## Unknown Aussie leads in open

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (AP).

An Australian unknown, Ian Baker-Finch, continued his relentless onslaught of the St. Andrews links in the third round of the British Open golf championships yesterday.

The 23-year-old Queenslander picked up another four birdies in the front line and reached the turn on a 17-under-par total of 167 after 45 holes.

Baker-Finch, a professional for just three years and bidding to become the first Australian to win the title since Peter Thompson in 1965, was 10-under-par overnight and led the field by three strokes.

Carrying no where he left off on Friday, he holed a 30-foot putt for a birdie on the first hole yesterday, repeated the feat on the par-4 4th and then hurled the fifth in another sensational start.

His first moment of pressure in the tournament came when he drove into a bunker on the ninth hole. But he responded majestically, chipping out first time, playing his third shot to within 10 feet of the pin and holing the putt to hold par.

The only man to stay with him was defending champion Tom Watson, who shot up the leader board with five birdies in the first nine holes and was 5-under-par on 171. Watson played a series of remarkable shots, including two chips at the 6th and 7th holes, both of which landed inches from the pin.

But he also had his share of luck, especially on the first hole. His second shot landed just short of a narrow stream, bounced over the water and ended up 10 feet from the pin. He holed the putt.

The three players who were tied for second place behind Baker-Finch after Friday's play had mixed fortunes when they came out for the third round.

Severiano Ballesteros of Spain picked up another two strokes and was 4-under after 45 holes - four off the lead - while America's Lee Trevino played steady golf and edged up from 7-under to 6-under after his front nine.

**LATE NEWS.** - Defending champion Tom Watson of the U.S. shot seven birdies in a sensational round of 66 late yesterday and tied for the lead with Australia's Ian Baker-Finch after three rounds of the British Open Golf championship.

## Benson and Hedges trophy to Lancs

LONDON (AP).

Lancashire won the Benson and Hedges one-day final at Lords yesterday, beating Warwickshire by six wickets.

Warwickshire were bowled out for 139 in the 51st of their allotted 55 overs, and Lancashire reached that target with 12 overs to spare.

The victory, Lancashire's first major success since 1975, was the best possible birthday present for its 32-year-old skipper, South African-born John Abrahams.

In the end, Lancashire won easily, but the victory was made sweeter by an extraordinary Warwickshire batting collapse, which reduced it from 183 for two to 139 all out.

The turning-point of the match occurred when Alvin Kalichman, who went on to make 70, was involved in a partnership with Dennis Ames, the veteran English test batsman, and seemed to be building a formidable score.

While Lancashire's 43-year-old spinner, Jack Simmons, kept the scoring-rate down with 11 tidy overs for only 18 runs, the seamers, Paul Allott, Steve Phipps, Steve Jeffries and Mike Watkinson snuffed up the wickets as the frustrated Warwickshire batsmen tried to hit out.

When Lancashire began chasing the victory target, Warwickshire's last batsman, Bob Willis, who is to retire at the end of the season, grabbed the wicket of his English Test colleague Graeme Fowler for only seven with the score on 21.

Lancashire struggled to reach 100 for four. All four wickets were catches behind by wicket-keeper Geoff Humphreys, and Warwickshire gave their supporters something to cheer.

But Neil Fairbrother and David Hughes dashed Warwickshire's lingering hopes of a miracle. Without taking any risks, they concentrated on blunting the Warwickshire bowling attack and then gently eased Lancashire towards the victory total. Fairbrother reached 36 and Hughes 35.

Despite making a "duck," birthday-bus Abrahams received the Gold Award for "man-of-the-match," for the way he organized his bowlers and fielders.

**Baseball: Friday**  
National League  
San Francisco 3, Chicago 2;  
Pittsburgh 4, San Diego 3. 1st game:  
San Diego 3, Pittsburgh 2. 2nd game:  
Atlanta 15, Philadelphia 11;  
Houston 8, Montreal 4;  
New York 3, Cincinnati 2, 11 innings;  
St. Louis 10, Los Angeles 5.  
American League  
Cleveland 6, Chicago 3;  
Detroit 3, Texas 1;  
New York 4, Minnesota 3;  
Kansas City 4, Baltimore 3;  
Seattle 4, California 3, 10 innings;  
Milwaukee 9, Oakland 7;  
Toronto 12, Seattle 7.

**Grand Prix**  
STUTTGART (AP). - Gene Mayer upset top-seeded fellow-American Eliot Teltscher, 6-3, 6-3, yesterday to advance to the final against Henri Leconte of France in the \$100,000 Grand Prix tennis tournament here.

## World records set

BERLIN (AP).

Uwe Hohn of East Germany shattered the world record in the men's javelin on Friday with a toss of 104.80m, at a track and field meet in East Berlin.

Ludmila Andonova of Bulgaria broke the world record in the women's high jump on Friday with a leap of 2.06m, at the same meet.

Andonova, 24, cleared the height on her first attempt, breaking the old mark of 2.05m, set by Tamara Bykova of the Soviet Union on June 23 at the Soviet National Championships in Kiev.

Yesterday Maria Koch of East Germany equalized her world record of 21.71 seconds in the 200m sprint.

## Caesarea golf

Friday's four-ball, two best balls to count, competition at the Caesarea golf club resulted in a win for the quartet of Ze'ev Abrahams, Eyal Ben, Lulu Givonman and Meir Naor with a 28-under-par 126 net.

Yesterday's individual stroke play was won by B. Gordon of the British Embassy, with a one-under-par 72 net.

# A MESSAGE TO ENGLISH-SPEAKING VOTERS SHINUI THE CENTRE PARTY

The majority of those who came to Israel from English-speaking countries came out of choice. They came because of some form of idealism. Inspired by the concept of a Jewish state, they wanted to be part of the historic process of building the state and to bring up their children in Israel. They were aware of the great sacrifices, the reduced standard of living, the language problem, the security situation and the necessity for their children to serve in the army with all of its implications. How much then must these people value the ideal of a Jewish state?

But what are the essentials of this concept that drew them to Israel and caused them to make sacrifices? For some, maybe the Zionist ideal alone may have been sufficient. But for most we should imagine that they thought this also meant a certain quality of life - a living, work, cultural environment of those qualities of Judaism that should be the essence of our existence in Israel, particularly the qualities of humanism, tolerance, wisdom, concern, integrity.

Then they discovered the large gap between the ideal and reality. What was their response? Some became cynical, some even left even a mission - to take action to make a contribution to improve the situation. Some are content to help clean up the country. Others are concerned about manners and bad habits. Unfortunately further by their inadequate command of the language.

Is this the reason that so many "Anglo-Saxons" are apologetic in this country - or do they find the country so confusing - or have they brought with them a Diaspora attitude of not involving oneself in politics in order not to prejudice one's position in the community?

Whatever the reason, the result may be that many thousands of English-speaking Israelis are not exercising their full rights as citizens and are not playing a full role in the political life of the nation. We believe that this is a loss for the country, particularly now that Israel is threatened by a spreading malaise in its political life. One of its aspects has led to the murderous

acts of Jewish terrorism against innocent civilians - acts which threaten the very fabric and foundations of our society. On the economic side it has led to an increasing spiral of spending money we do not have - unremitting printing of shekels until there is now an inflation rate of over 400%. And an enormous increase in the national debt. Servicing this debt takes over one third of the national income. Worse still, this debt grows more and more out of control as successive Finance Ministers are forced to bow to party political expediency which will not only lead to our loss of independence but to absolute dependence on outside sources. Worst of all is the lack of integrity and leadership at the top. Our country has been governed by politicians who put party and self interests above those of the nation.

However two Knesset representatives - Amnon Rubinstein and Moshe Vinitzsky - the Shinui representatives, during their seven years in the Knesset - have a consistent record of constructive effort, relating to the enforcement of law and order and the quality of life.

They initiated the setting up of the Sabat and Shabbat Commission of Enquiry. They have always taken a non-partisan, comprehensive, overall approach, with a concern for the public and national interests. They have always tried to raise the standards and quality of government.

Shinui is completely opposed to the Likud Party. We believe that no party guilty of the misdemeanors and incompetence that this government has shown, should be allowed to continue in power. Shinui has sufficient in common with the Labour Party to join a Labour-led coalition. Recognizing that this is the only alternative to the Likud, we have given the electorate an undertaking that we will support a Labour led coalition and will not under any circumstances join the Likud.

Because of its strong independence and respect for its principles, Shinui will act as a watchdog exerting a positive influence within the Labour coalition. Unfortunately, the Labour Party is still under the same leadership which was ousted seven years ago. We can help ensure that the party does not revert to its previous mistakes when it accedes to Government.

A vote for Shinui is a vote for the principles and values that we wish to see in a government led by the Labour Party. The greater level that small parties have in our parliament can at long last serve a constructive purpose. In our hands this power can serve the national good rather than sectoral interests.

Let the English-speaking sector and with the moral force of free choice of citizen - exercise its vote to bring about a positive change in political life in this country by voting for change - for Shinui.



**FOR A CHANGE, VOTE SHINUI**

## ENGLISH-SPEAKING SUPPORTERS OF SHINUI

- |  |   |                                 |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| Professor Hillel Shuvai - Professor of Ecology, Hebrew University. | Natan Kanski - Architect.               | Dave Moss - Import Agent.       |
| Marcus Mandel - Advocate.  | Paulette Sandowicz - Teacher.           | David Rosenberg - Agronomist.   |
| Ashiel Modlin - Accountant.  | Sari Kinkner - Pharmacist.              | Maurice Mendelowitz - Exporter. |
| Amos Lassen - Teacher.   | Shaul Shapiro - Company Director.       | Dan Halperin - Student.         |
| Stanley Kaplan - Consulting Engineer.                              | Karen Modlin - Psychotherapist.         | Marcia Mendelowitz - Teacher.   |
| Mehmet Meyer - Spokesman, Weizmann Institute.                      | Hannah Stark - Secretary.               | Ami Ungerson - Youth Leader.    |
| Beatrice Horowitz - Teacher.                                       | Gladys Groner - Public Relations.       | Cheryl Gould - Artist.          |
| Charlotte Koritzky - Librarian.                                    | Monty Sussman - Pharmacist.             |                                 |
| Celli Mandel - Psychotherapist.                                    | Jack Beer - Warehouse Manager.          |                                 |
| Ethel Moss - Housewife.  | Niki Rosenberg - Housewife.             |                                 |
| Yitzhak Izakovich - Pharmacist.                                    | Dan Gould - Immigration Worker.         |                                 |
| Bluma Kaplan - Teacher.  | Esther Kaufman - Electronics Engineer.  |                                 |
| Moshe Segal - Student.   | Sharon G. Cameron - Gaffer.             |                                 |
| Harry Starck - Doctor.   | Leslie Ward - Production Assistant.     |                                 |
| Fred Levy - Company Director.                                      | Dennis Rappaport - Professional worker. |                                 |
|  | Milton Franks Lehman - Computer Tester. |                                 |



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Editor and  
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## The choice

LACKING an opportunity to conclude its election campaign with some dramatic government success, the Likud has chosen to emphasize instead the need for a government of national unity. The official party line is that the Likud should itself head such a government, and on this basis asks the voter for support. Mr. Shamir, in an interview with this newspaper, went a step further indicating the Likud would also join such a government headed by Labour.

The Likud has good reasons, tactical and strategic, for adopting this position. Tactically, it is useful in the election campaign. A unity government is a popular line. The public prefers unity over dissent. National coherence quickens the blood; dissent saps it.

Moreover, the Likud has for long known, but never openly admitted, that it cannot effect economic reform. Without the cooperation of Labour and the Histadrut it lacks the power. But it also lacks the will, for in order to remain in power it resorts to squandering the public treasury.

This equation was well known to the shrewdest of the Likud's godfathers, the late Simha Ehrlich. It was the reason for his cynical amusement over the effort of his successor as finance minister, Yigael Hertz, to attempt reform. It was also the reason why, in conversations with editors of this newspaper, he advocated as early as 1980 that Ezer Weizman and not Menachem Begin head the Likud, which could then lead or join a unity government.

But today, Mr. Shamir and his close colleagues also have a strategic reason for advocating "national unity." They want to cement the historic Herut position on Eretz Yisrael. This they can achieve only if Labour is neutralized, as the senior or junior partner in the government.

If Labour were the senior partner in a unity government, the Likud believes it could effectively prevent a change of course. And if Labour were the junior partner, the Likud could cement its territorial policy and try to implement economic reform as well.

There would also be a side benefit. The present Likud leadership triumvirate could block the ambition of Ariel Sharon for ultimate control of the party.

Little wonder that Labour, which is the only national force that can prevent eventual annexation of the territories, cannot accept the Likud's bubbling brew.

For Labour stands for a change of national directions. It strives to put Israel back on the course of sanity and reason which once guided this country - striving for peace with our neighbours through eventual compromise - and not pursuit of the deadly illusion that Israel's future can be secured by imposing its will on the Arab world.

For the advocates of that course of sanity, the role of Israel's military strength was to prevent the Arabs from imposing their will upon us. They were never seduced by the megalomaniac fantasy that Israel's military skill made it immune to the limitations of military power.

Precisely because military strength was conceived by David Ben-Gurion, and his successors, as the condition which would enable Israel to seek peace, not impose it on its own terms, it was always supplemented in the priorities of policy by active diplomacy, on the one hand, and a huge effort of national economic development, on the other.

These were three inter-related national fronts. Diplomacy was not reduced to a tool for proving that the gentiles were against us, and economic development was not reduced to a tool for private enrichment.

The Likud, under Mr. Begin and his successors, together with its coalition partners - whose job it was to say amen in return for the spoils of office - wrenched this country from its historic direction. In doing so it released the domestic pathologies which inevitably emerge in a society that focusses inward, on its own might, without rational regard for the limitations of might. Such a society always seeks legitimacy for its acts by reference to tradition and a distant past. In contrast, a rational society, and a rational course, finds the test of its ideas in the consequences to which the ideas lead.

Therefore, behind all the hoopla of the election campaign, these are the real choices - between a Likud that would go forward by imposing Israel's will on its environment in the service of a vision from the past, and Labour that would go forward by coming to terms with its environment in the service of a vision for a better and secure future.

The dangers inherent in the first course should be as plain to voters who want to make a reasoned choice tomorrow as the opportunities inherent in the second course.

This time, as no time before, the voter's choice is a crucial matter.

## ANTI-SOVIET THRUST

(Continued from Page One)

progress or portray it as a military alliance as a way to gain advantage in parliamentary elections set for Monday," Gelb wrote.

"If Israel were to overplay the results of the talks so far," he quoted an administration official as saying, "we told them they would be greatly embarrassed."

The embarrassment, he added, would result from the anti-Soviet character of the talks, "which is opposed by the Israeli military as a diversion from dealing with traditional Arab threats and by many Israeli political leaders as causing unnecessary problems with the Soviet Union on matters such as Jewish emigration."

Gelb said that there is no far less division within the administration on the strategic discussions with Israel than when they were established, in part because of the relatively restrained Arab reaction.

He also said the U.S. Navy has become very enthusiastic over the discussions. "The Sixth Fleet would be the primary beneficiary of using Israel for repairs, prepositioning of stocks, shore leave and combined operations against the Soviet Mediterranean fleet," he said.

"The White House continues to push the process along with the support of the State Department," he added. "But none want to do it in a way that would create problems with friendly Arab governments."

"There continues to be a sense in both places that in addition to the domestic benefits of progress in the talks, Israel is America's most reliable partner, militarily and politically, in the region. That, officials said, was the reason Mr. Reagan decided to set up the joint committee," Gelb said.

According to Gelb, the first task of the joint political/military committee was "to seek agreement on the contingencies to study. The Israelis were said to want to look at Syrian action in Lebanon and Jordan, backed by the Soviet Union, and into Persian Gulf contingencies in which Moscow was in a background role."

"The American side insisted on talking exclusively about contingencies in which the Soviet Union was the major combatant in Jordan, Lebanon, the Persian Gulf and the eastern Mediterranean."

Gelb said the U.S. position was accepted at the June meeting of the full joint committee.

# MARCHING TO THE BRINK

By MARK SEGAL

WHILE THE LABOUR Alignment has sought to lull its voters to the polls, the Likud seems to prefer that its flock of faithful march blindfolded to the voting stations. That seems to be the prevailing impression, as the campaign for the 11th Knesset winds up.

Both of the Big Two parties have been less than candid. They each seek to conceal the cutting edges of their programmes and ideologies from the mass of voters, by wrapping their messages in layers of mental toffee.

But beneath it all, the campaign has proved the overriding need for changing the system. Day after day, Labour and the Likud argue against voting for the smaller parties, while many of their candidates have done almost nothing to bring about their own re-election.

This is especially true in the Liberal wing of the Likud, although one could mention a couple of idle names on the Labour list as well. The way Herut has hidden the Liberals and Labour has concealed Mapam says volumes for the lack of voting appeal of these disappearing Zionist trends.

While Labour has kept out of sight anyone likely to irritate its target audience of disenchanted ex-Likudniks - like Yossi Sarid - the Likud has hidden away the protagonists of unpopular legislation. One example is Pinhas Gold-

stein, the prime advocate of the abolition of the Tenants' Protection Law.

The Likud only produced the architect of the Lebanon morass, Ariel Sharon, towards the end of the campaign, and then in an uncharacteristically wholesome package.

THESE HAVE BEEN the elections of the Lowest Common Denominator with the campaign managers relying on gimmick-makers to manipulate our minds and hearts. The result has often been emotional congestion and mental indigestion. Politics as entertainment prevails in all democratic countries, but hardly at such a low level as in Israel 1984.

It's as if there has been a concerted effort to dull the perception that this election represents a crossroads in the history of Israel. The future of our society as we have known it hangs in the balance. By our vote we will decide on the prospects of whether our children and grandchildren will live in peace or at constant war, whether in a closed ghetto-like society or in an open, tolerant one.

Ugly fruit is sprouting from the seeds planted by latter-day Shabbat Zvis. Their Bible consists only of the

Book of Joshua with its tales of bloodshed, slaughter and conquest. For them, Judaism is bereft of humanitarian morality with the universalist messages of the prophets consigned to the dust heap. Religion becomes the idolatry of blood and land. They have returned the anxieties of the Diaspora minority community to the sovereign Jewish homeland, cultivating paranoia and chauvinism as guiding principles.

When it comes down to it, what is the basic difference between the obscene credo peddled by Meir Kahane, and the lynch-party atmosphere towards the Arab community fostered by Herut Haifa MK Meir Cohen Avidon the deputy Knesset Speaker? How does one explain the presence of so many followers of Tehiya in the kibbutzim, supposedly the model of egalitarianism? How can they support Rafael (Rafael) Eitan, who says, in effect: "No Arabs in the Knesset. No Arabs in our universities. No Arabs to get National Insurance?" He would be a minister, should the Likud form the next coalition.

Then there is Rafel's Tehiya colleague, Yuval Ne'eman, who speaks of "justified terror," echoing Premier Shamir's contemplation of

clemency for the Jewish underground terrorists even before their trial has begun.

WHAT EMERGES from the 1984 campaign is a crisis of confidence in our post-charismatic leadership, with a relatively high proportion of the voters leaning to the smaller parties. It may well be because they offer a clearer message than the catch-all appeal of the Big Two.

In a grey field of politicians, the only colourful figure is that of Ezer Weizman. Having started again from scratch, he has charmed his way into a fairly respectable showing with his new Yehud party. The big question about Ezer is where he intends going with this achievement.

The cliff-hanger of the campaign run-up has been whether ex-premier Menachem Begin would finally rally to the Likud flag. His party's frantic efforts to coax him out of seclusion have not spelled self-confidence, just as his refusal to speak out in their cause or give his name to their list indicates his lack of faith in his successors, and most probably his dislike for those who caused his downfall.

Labour has irritated much of its traditional constituency by taking

them for granted. Some of its supporters have indicated that they would feel more at home in the allied camps of Shinui and CRM.

THE ARGUMENT against splitting the anti-Likud vote is the need to bolster the one major force that can keep a Likud-Tehiya regime from continuing. It is pointed out that a strong faction will be required to counter the newly bolstered bloc of the radical right in the 11th Knesset.

The Shamir-Aren-Levy axis to Herut may not like Sharon, but they cannot ignore the fact he only narrowly missed defeating Shamir for the premiership in their party central committee.

In contemplating the alternative, people who wish to block a Likud return will overcome their misgivings over the Labour Party and its leadership, or opt for their allied parties. It is not only a question of who will provide the best team to manage this country's affairs. It is a question of wanting a Labour coalition, or a Likud-Tehiya-Morasha government, in which Sharon, Eitan and Me'eman will be dominant in personality, if not in position.

If that is a prospect that frightens you, the choice is crystal-clear. It reminds one of the story of the elderly lady, asked how she felt on her 85th birthday. She replied: "Considering the alternative..."

ated the possibility that he might name Lane Kirkland, the popular and powerful president of the AFL-CIO labour federation and a down-the-line supporter of Israel, as his secretary of state. Kirkland was one of Mondale's early backers, leading the fight to have his union formally endorse Mondale's candidature early during his campaign. Israel could not dream of having a more sympathetic secretary of state.

The naming of Ferraro as Mondale's vice presidential running mate will represent a net plus for Mondale in the Jewish community, especially among the women. She is articulate and well-liked. She also has a 100-per-cent-perfect record in support of Israel during her six years in the Congress.

The stage, therefore, is set for a tough fight, with very real differences between the two camps. This year, there will be a choice, not just an echo. Mondale's people, including some very influential Jewish politicians in the Democratic Party, insist they can win. All the polls currently show Reagan in a commanding lead. But there is still a lot of time between now and November, and anything is possible.

## Religious dilemma

By ROCHELLE FURSTENBERG

tically cut in the past year. The dollar is very strong. This will encourage many Jews to vote for the president's re-election.

The high profile taken by San Francisco's very large and active homosexual community during the convention will no doubt turn many Americans off the Democratic Party.

The Democrats may complain about Reagan's record towards Israel during his first term of office and the prospects of strong and unhindered pressure against Israel during a second administration. But the Republicans will be able to point to numerous statements in recent weeks by Israeli leaders noting that U.S.-Israeli relations today are better than ever before.

The Republicans will also be able to raise all sorts of questions about the pro-Israeli posture of a proposed Democratic administration. They will point to the many ex-Jimmy Carter associates involved in the Mondale organization, including the most recent addition of Bert Lance, the former Carter budget director who was forced out of the White House in October 1977 because of alleged financial irregularities. He was later cleared of wrongdoing, but his subsequent business links with oil-rich Arabs have aroused considerable concern in the Jewish community.

SOME OF MONDALE'S chief foreign policy advisers, moreover, are not all that popular either. Warren Christopher, deputy secretary of state during the Carter administration, is said to have a strong shot at being named secretary of state under Mondale. Two other senior foreign policy advisers, David Aaron and Robert Hunter, both worked for national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was not exactly the darling of the Jewish community during his four years in office.

Jimmy Carter may have been the decisive element in rushing through the Camp David peace accords and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty,

but mention of his name continues to arouse almost knee-jerk distrust among many Jews. Carter's legacy is going to hurt Mondale among many Americans, including Jews.

The humiliating spectre of Americans being held hostage in Iran for 444 days is still very much a part of the national psyche in America.

There is a very clear-cut difference on basic foreign and defence policy emerging between the Republican and the Democratic tickets. The Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson forces successfully pressured the Mondale people into accepting platform language limiting the use of U.S. military power around the world. This will hurt Mondale among many of the so-called neo-conservative Jews around the country.

They have come to recognize that American military support for Israel is made more difficult by Pentagon budget cutbacks. Their argument is

that you can't honestly support a strong defence programme in Israel and a reduced one in the United States.

JEWISH SUPPORTERS of Mondale and Ferraro will be able to point to the very pro-Israeli plank contained in the party platform, including the promise to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. They will argue that the Democratic Party has traditionally been much more accessible to the concerns of the Jewish community - that more Jews are in high positions in that Party than among the Republicans. They will raise the record towards Israel of defence secretary Caspar Weinberger and the prospect that he could succeed George Shultz as secretary of state during a second Reagan term in the White House.

Already, some of Mondale's most active Jewish supporters have fo-

## READERS' LETTERS

### HELLO, JERUSALEM

To the Editor of the Jerusalem Post Sir, - My wife and I are recent returnees from the "Hello, Jerusalem" tour sponsored by your paper.

On behalf of my wife and myself, I wish to compliment you for having the good judgement to support this worthwhile endeavour especially in employing Walter Zanger as guide. We learned, listened, observed, and enjoyed under his tutelage.

Our intention is to recommend and urge our friends to do likewise. You should expect to be very busy if our fellow tourists and we have anything to do with it.

DR. M.C. DAVIS

Miami Beach.

### BEDUIN COUNCIL

To the Editor of the Jerusalem Post Sir, - I refer to your report of July 4, "Appointed council for Beduin town" and wish to point out that I didn't resign because of inter-tribal problems, as claimed.

The appointment of the Local Council of Tel Sheva now was an act which created political facts before the coming elections. Furthermore the present make-up doesn't reflect the real distribution of forces between the population. This is very well known to all the officials concerned, especially to Nissim Kazaz, the local government adviser on Arab affairs.

IBRAHIM ABU-RAIK

Beersheva.

### OPEN BORDERS

To the Editor of the Jerusalem Post Sir, - In your issue of July 3, you report Mr. Ya'acov Arnon, PLO candidate, as saying in a letter to Likud headquarters: "No one will need a visa and the border crossing (from Israel into an eventual Palestinian state) will be as free as that between Holland and France."

He is absolutely right, not for the reason he seems to assume, but because there is no border between Holland and France, since Belgium lies in between.

A. ANDERMANN

Kiryat Ono.

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Saturday July 28, 9:00pm - Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil
Sunday July 29, 9:00pm - B.B. King	Tania Maria
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Vol. LII, No. 15664 Monday, July 23, 1984 • Tammuz 23, 5744 • Shawwal 23, 1404 IS140

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## Three more settlements approved

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The government and the World Zionist Organization yesterday outmaneuvered Labour opposition and moved to complete the encirclement of Nablus in Golan Heights by establishing a fishing village some five kilometres north of Gaza and to set up a third settlement some two kilometres east of Kalkiya, in the Triangle.

The decisions were taken by the Joint Ministerial-WZO committee in less than an hour. The only members present with a right to vote were committee chairman Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman (Yehiya) and the director of the education department in the Zionist Executive, Eli Tavin (Likud).

Last week, Ne'eman had said the committee would not meet again before the elections, but he seized upon an appeal by WZO settlement committee co-chairman Nissim Zvili (Labour), over a previous Joint committee decision and held yesterday's meeting. Zvili boycotted it.

Zvili last week requested the reconsideration of the Joint Settlement Committee's decision to establish Avnei Hefetz, Sela'im, Aner and Nava in the West Bank. Zvili suspected that Ne'eman had rushed the decision through the committee to establish facts before the elections.

Evidently Zvili expected the appeal to come before the committee to be formed after today's elections. But Ne'eman set the meeting for yesterday.

In a last-minute attempt to stop the debate, the four Alignment members among the seven WZO representatives on the joint committee urged Prime Minister Shamir to prevail upon Ne'eman to postpone the debate.

But Ne'eman turned up at yesterday's meeting with letters signed by Ministers Zevulun Hammer, Pessah Grupper, Moshe Arens, Mordechai Ziv, Moshe Nisim and Yigal Cohen-Orgad, and Zvili's opposite number Mattityahu Drobles (Likud) supporting the dismissal of Zvili's appeal and endorsing last week's decision.

Ne'eman then passed the decision to establish a community settlement called Tirza near Tubas, northeast of Nablus. An aide to one of the ministers noted that Nablus is already surrounded by Jewish settlements but that there is a gap in the Tubas area.

The plan to establish a fishing village near Gaza was shelved last week after experts said it was only in the early planning stages. But yesterday it was approved anyway. An aide to Zvili said it would be near a cemetery on a peninsula jutting into the Mediterranean. "They want to prove that it is possible to settle in Gaza," he complained.

The authorities marked the establishment of three more civilian settlements in the Gaza Strip. Rafiah Yam will be populated at first by 15 families. Nitzan, on a hill in the northern sector of the Gaza Strip, and originally established by the Nahal, will also house 15 families.

The third settlement, Netzarim, was a WZO camp for training potential settlers which was taken over by the Nahal on November 11, 1983. A group of Orthodox kibbutz members is to settle there.

## Britain's sea-skimming missile passes test

LONDON (Reuters). — The British Navy has destroyed one of its old warships in the east Atlantic in a successful test of a powerful sea-skimming missile, the Defence Ministry here said yesterday.

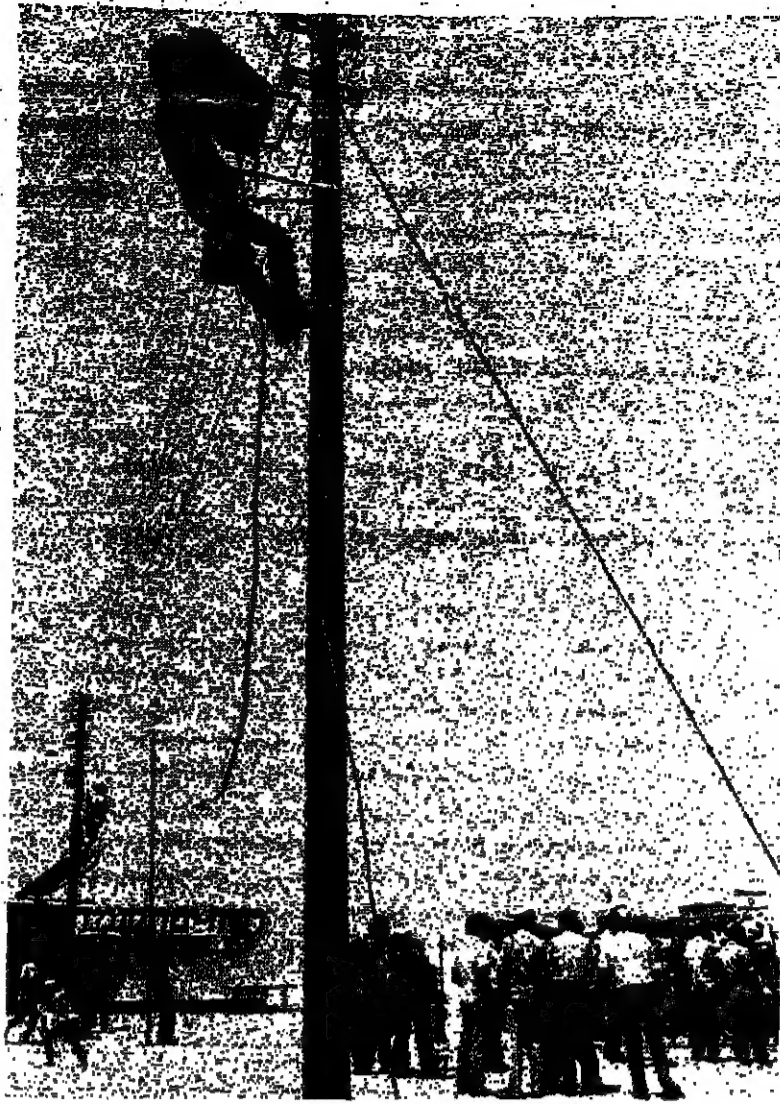
The Sea Eagle, made by the British Aerospace Company and fitted with a larger warhead than any other sea-skimming missile, showed it was more destructive than the French Exocet missile, defence experts said.

The target in the trial was the 22-year-old decommissioned destroyer Devonshire, whose sister ships Glamorgan and Antrim were both damaged by Exocets in the 1982 Falklands Islands war against Argentina.

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For full details see the ad on Page 5 in today's Post.



Workers install electrical equipment during the dedication ceremony yesterday of the Gaza Strip settlement of Rafia-Yam. (Micha Bar-Am)

## Shamir, Arens to decide on future of office in Lebanon

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The cabinet yesterday empowered the prime minister and the minister of defence to decide what action to take regarding Israel's liaison office in Dbaiye, near Beirut.

The decision followed Lebanon's formal notification to Israel, over the weekend that it proposed to remove the military guard which protects the mission. The Lebanese note did not state specifically when the soldiers would be withdrawn.

Last Friday *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the Lebanese Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem had declared the previous day that the forces are interested in Israel retaining its liaison office in Dbaiye. However, if Israel decides to accept a Lebanese

government request to close it, the forces would not block such a move, a spokesman said.

On the other hand, if Israel were to decide to defy the Lebanese government, the Lebanese Forces would give protection to the Israeli mission.

The ministers also heard reports yesterday on Lebanon-related developments from the OC military intelligence Aluf Ehud Barak, and from the coordinator of government policy in Lebanon, Uri Lubrani.

The Lebanese government announced last night it has cancelled the permits of Israeli personnel at the Dbaiye mission to move about Beirut and its vicinity, the Voice of Lebanon radio reported.

## Katynsha fired at IDF in eastern Lebanon

METULLA. — A Katynsha rocket was fired at an IDF outpost in the eastern sector of Lebanon yesterday, but caused no casualties. A search turned up two additional 10.7mm. rockets, set for firing.

Army sources said terrorists who are sheltered by local residents were

probably responsible for the attack.

Near the village of Manshara there was an attack with light arms and rocket-propelled grenades against a patrol of the South Lebanon Army. No one was hurt.

The SLA has been attacked 10 times in the last week.

## Shoppers snap up basic foods

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Consumers have been panic-buying subsidized food in great quantities during the last few days, an official of the Shekem chain, said yesterday.

The buying spree is apparently due to the widely-held belief that subsidies will be drastically slashed after the elections.

The most popular items are those

with a long shelf-life, such as cooking oil, sugar and flour. Shekem said, however, that it has enough stock to meet the increased demand.

Shmuel Eyal, general manager of the Hamaishir Lazarchan chain, also told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that customers have been buying heavily this month, but he added that part of this might be because certain products have been on sale.

## Likud peeved with Begin for failing to aid party

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — For the first time in the memory of most political observers, a note of anger with former prime minister Menachem Begin — for his failure to come to the aid of his party in either TV or radio broadcasts — could be detected among Likud leaders and even lower ranking party workers.

All hope vanished in the Likud yesterday even of getting a written endorsement from Begin. Disappointment having given way to apathy, Likud activists ceased all attempts to appeal to Begin for such a message.

The accusation, generally made privately and not for attribution, was that he had strung the party along for weeks, building expectations that he would take part in the campaign.

When the hopes he fostered were dashed, the damage to the Likud was greater than it would have been had he turned down the appeals from the start, with the explanation that for one reason or another he could not take part in the campaign.

Sources close to Begin categorically denied reports yesterday that Begin had been videotaped last week for the Likud TV campaign and that when he was shown the film he was so dismayed with his appearance that he refused to allow its screening.

Both campaign sources and sources close to Begin insist that he was never videotaped.

The Likud even doubted whether he would come out of his months-long seclusion to vote. He is still registered in his former Tel Aviv district and would have to travel from Jerusalem to cast his ballot.

EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S  
**The New York Times**  
THE WEEK IN REVIEW  
INSIDE TODAY

## Big voter turnout seen today; gov't may hinge on small lists

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

The clear trend indicated by most public opinion polls — away from the big and towards the small parties — will make it extremely hard for either the Likud or the Alignment to form a coalition after today's Knesset election.

In the 1981 elections, the two big blocs won 96 Knesset seats between them. Even so, the Alignment — which with Shulamit Aloni, had 48 seats — had no chance to form a coalition, and its prospects did not improve even when the addition of two Likud defectors who crossed the floor swelled the Alignment's strength to 50.

In 1981, the Likud, though shrunk to 46 seats, still found enough partners who could be attracted ideologically or materially. Today, according to most polls, the Likud does not have that possibility. If the Alignment wins only the 48 seats indicated in the Smith survey it will have to make more deals with small parties to pass the 61-seat majority line.

While the two big blocs got 96 seats between them in 1981, the polls this time forecast about 10 seats less. These missing 10 seats, which will make it harder for the Alignment or Likud to form any coalition, let alone a strong and authoritative coalition, will *ipso facto* make it easier for the small parties to conduct lucrative negotiations.

The country's awesome economic problems, which can only be tackled by a strong government, have less prospect than before of being taken in hand.

The outgoing Likud cabinet did not devote any attention to the continuing economic decline at its last weekly session before the elections yesterday.

Cabinet ministers told *The Jerusalem Post* that they do not expect any serious economic matters to be put on the agenda at next Sunday's session.

The outgoing government rules with full powers until a new government is installed. But according to cabinet ministers, the uncertainty causing the continued economic decline will make it impossible to take the economy in hand while a caretaker regime rules — a situation which could last for weeks.

"It's not a question of formal decisions but of psychology," one minister told *The Post*. "The outgoing government can trim the deficits a bit by reducing subsidies which have swollen lately, but only the incoming government can give the citizens renewed confidence in the shekel. Only a solid government can exude the authority which inspires confidence. Yet I don't see where that solid government is going to come from on the basis of mathematics alone."

## Cars, buses and flowers in last bid for votes

Jerusalem Post Staff

In a last-minute push to win votes, the larger parties have recruited thousands of volunteers to transport voters from their homes to the polling places and back.

An Alignment spokesman said 20,000 cars will be available for this mission, and a Likud spokesman said his faction would have 15,000 cars.

In an accord signed at the Central Election Committee yesterday, the Likud and Alignment pledged to refrain from using motor vehicles owned by the government, state corporations, the Histadrut, municipalities or local councils.

It is agreed in both large parties that the last thrust of the campaign could well mean four or five seats, or the difference between serving in the coalition or the opposition.

The Alignment has mobilized some 150,000 volunteers. Some 200 buses and 70 cabs have been hired for the day. The party's youth campaign headquarters says it will send activists with flowers and a printed message to every home in the country this morning.

The Likud at the most can count on 50,000 volunteers to bring votes to the polls.

Tel Aviv has the largest number of eligible voters — 283,244. Jerusalem has 236,294; Haifa, 177,584 and Beersheba, 173,624.

Haifa's Alignment election campaign chairman Moshe Wertman estimated that there would be between 25 and 30 volunteers working

in each of the 460 polling wards in the Haifa district.

Alignment canvassers will pay particular attention to the traditional Likud strongholds of Kiryat Ata, Tirat Carmel and Tel Hanan, where Wertman thinks there is a chance of picking up votes this time.

Some 359 polling stations, 51 of them in Beduin villages, are to operate today in the Negev, the country's largest single area — and the most sparsely populated.

Ran Moshe, secretary of the Negev regional election committee, told *The Jerusalem Post* that because of its size, the Negev is divided into seven sub-sections, each with its own organization. These seven sections will report their vote tabulations to Beersheba where they will be collated by six computer terminals and two printers. This information will then be relayed to the central elec-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Grim mood at Likud, hope at the Alignment

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There was considerable trepidation on election day eve yesterday in the Likud campaign headquarters, while optimism was the dominant mood in the Alignment camp.

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy told the press that he foresaw a very close race with a difference of one or two Knesset seats either way. This, he thought would make it possible for the Likud to set up the next government.

But Alignment information campaign chief Moshe Shahal told reporters that the gap between the parties continues to be 16 seats, in the Alignment's favour, which would make it simple for it to put together the next coalition.

Throughout the campaign, public opinion polls consistently showed the Alignment ahead. However, the

out at any one of the 138 special election information centres open all day today at post offices throughout the country.

Because of the need to double-check the soldiers' vote — against the Voters Register and their home polling station — the official overall count will not be announced by the Central Elections Committee until later in the week.

However, under an arrangement between the CEC and the Broadcasting Authority, Israel Radio and Israel Television will be privy to election results as they stream in from each *kalfi* to one of the 17 regional election centres. These media, along with the Government Press Office, will immediately disseminate the results as they come in.

If today's voter turnout proves similar to that in the 1977 and 1981 elections — approximately 80 per cent — the so-called "threshold ratio" count of valid votes each of the 26 contending lists will have to muster will be 21,000 or thereabouts.

As for allocation of seats in the next Knesset, an 80-per-cent turnout would mean that approximately 17,600 voters would be "worth" one mandate in the 120-seat Knesset. In the last elections 17,243 votes were disqualified on various grounds.

With election day designated a full work holiday by the Knesset, all banks, post offices and government

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

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OSLO	11	18	Cloudy
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SAPORO	11	18	Cloudy
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Jerusalem	21	27	27	18
Golan	21	27	27	18
Nahariya	21	27	27	18
Safed	21	27	27	18
Haifa Port	21	27	27	18
Tiberias	21	27	27	18
Nazareth	21	27	27	18
Nalut	21	27	27	18
Shomron	21	27	27	18
Tel Aviv	21	27	27	18
B-G Airport	21	27	27	18
Jericho	21	27	27	18
Gaza	21	27	27	18
Beersheba	21	27	27	18
Eilat	21	27	27	18

**SOCIAL & PERSONAL**

Australian Ambassador R.S. Merrille last week gave a lunch reception for Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin. Calling on Savidor was British Ambassador Patrick Moberly, who is concluding his term of duty in Israel. Mr. and Mrs. Savidor at the weekend gave a reception for Samuel Pizar, international lawyer and author, who arrived from Paris.

**Peres' final rally in Kiryat Shmona**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
SAFAD. — Alignment head Shimon Peres last night ended his campaign here at a rally of 2,000 local supporters. During which he was heckled by a group of Likud enthusiasts shouting "Begin, Begin!"  
For the first time in the campaign, Peres referred to Begin directly. "Give Begin a rest," he told the hecklers. "Give him a rest from yourselves and from the situation. He deserves it."  
Peres also apostrophized Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, saying: "If you want a national unity government under the Alignment, all right. If Shamir wants to be a Labourite, we'll accept him."  
Peres told local residents that, "For the Alignment, Safad is no less important than Hebron. We'll develop and revive the Galilee."  
He also ridiculed some of the Likud's nationalistic campaign claims. "Did the Likud build the Western Wall? Did it build Al-Aksa? Masada? Safad? What a bluff!"

**Egged head stays on Yahad list**

**By DAVID RUDGE**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
HAIFA. — Egged chairman Shlomo Amar, the No. 3 man on Ezer Weizman's Yahad list, is to continue running for election despite a pending summons on charges of illegal phone tapping.  
Police confirmed on Friday that charges are to be brought against Amar and three other Egged members in the next few days.  
Amar told *The Jerusalem Post* that there was "no reason" for him to resign his post with the bus cooperative.  
He maintained that the pending charges were the result of struggles within Egged, and they would not affect his or Yahad's chances in the elections.  
The four are suspected of having been involved in bugging the home telephone of Yehoshua Feren, the former chairman of Egged's control committee.

**HOME AND WORLD NEWS**

**ELECTIONS**

**Israelis pouring into B-G, plan to pour out after poll**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Incoming flights are full as Israelis return for the Knesset elections, a highly placed Airports Authority source told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. There has also been a 50 per cent drop in the number of Israelis going abroad.  
"This is unusual for July," the El Al spokesman said. But as of tonight departing planes are fully booked and the waiting lists are "sky high," he added. A Ben-Gurion Airport source also reported a planned 20 per cent increase in the number of flights during the next 10 to 14 days.  
Israelis leaving yesterday gave various explanations as to why they had not postponed their flights. One said the trip solved his dilemma as to how to vote: another said elections are important, but so is his vacation. Some said they had to catch a tour, or that there was no space on flights after election day.  
It seemed as if many parties lost votes. A woman in one group said they cancelled out one another. "Two of us support the Likud and two the Alignment," she said.  
In Haifa, two passenger ships, the Sol Phryn and the Vergina, yesterday brought 730 returning Israelis in time for today's voting, but in the evening took away nearly the same number, who preferred a holiday abroad to going to the polls.

**Eban says Likud deserved more forceful opposition**

**By DAVID LANDAU**  
**Post Diplomatic Correspondent**  
CARMIEL. — Alignment MK Abba Eban has publicly faulted his party for not attacking the Likud more forcefully over its West Bank policy.  
"We should have been more indignant over the sheer untenability of the Likud position," Eban told an election rally in Carmiel at the weekend. "The Likud should have been asked to explain to the public what they propose to do with the 1.2 million Palestinian Arabs in the territories."  
Eban cited the example of the Danes who, after World War II, refused the Allies' offer to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein into Denmark because they did not want a disaffected minority of two million Germans as part of their country.  
Eban noted that the Likud government had recognized Palestinian "peoplehood," that's what he (Menachem Begin) signed at Camp David — and all credit to him for signing it.  
Eban conceded that Labour's solution for the West Bank is "untidy-looking; but it is history that has been untidy."  
The election campaign, he believed, had proved that the public "wants to be spoken to straightforwardly. Look at Yigael Hurvitz, going around like a sick spaniel!" — and apparently picking up votes by not mincing words about the gravity of the economic crisis.  
Eban said it was "not true that Labour favoured a 40-45 kilometre operation into Lebanon in 1982. Labour leaders, including Rabin, Bar-Lev and Gur, had written and spoken against any military assault by Israel. But once the invasion was launched, Labour decided to support it — until it was extended far beyond the goals which Begin himself had solemnly proclaimed."  
For one whole year before the operation there has been "no deaths in the Galilee," Eban said. The PLO had adhered to the August 1981 ceasefire "out of fear." In other words we were engaged in a process of successful deterrence. Such situations can develop a dynamic of their own. One year might have extended to two years, three, five...  
"The government did not consult with us. They informed us after the troops had begun to move in. Faced with this fact, we could hardly hold a seminar about whether it had been necessary or not. After all, we wanted the IDF to win, not the PLO."  
"And the dimensions of the operation were spelled out to us: 40 kilometres, 48 hours. I heard it (from Begin), and I believed it. The words spoken with such sincerity. Begin said to us: 'If it takes 72 hours instead of 48, don't make an issue of it.'"  
Addressing separate groups of English- and Hebrew-speakers in this development town, Eban offered some pithy definitions of campaign issues:  
• Inflation at the present rate is a fundamental corrosion of the social order.  
• This inflation dooms us to live in the present alone — Jews, who gave mankind the concept of a future.  
• How much time each of us is forced to spend these days over money... when you receive a cheque, you rush to the bank carrying it like butter in the sun.

**Peres offers Kolkol a cabinet seat**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
The Alignment has offered Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolkol a place in its cabinet, if it wins today's election, as minister for Jerusalem affairs.  
The offer came up in a meeting between Kolkol and Alignment leader Shimon Peres last Thursday. Kolkol told Peres that "his natural inclination is not to take up any additional positions," but said he would postpone a decision until after the election.  
Telling Peres that he hoped the Alignment would form the next coalition, Kolkol said that he saw in the offer "an expression of the basic approach of the Alignment to the needs of Jerusalem."

**Shas: No promises to Shlomo Lorincz**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
The Sephardi Tora Guardians (Shas) yesterday denied a claim in the Tami Party's Saturday night television election broadcast that Shas had offered a ministerial position to Shlomo Lorincz in the event that Shas enters a government coalition.  
Lorincz, an Agudat Yisrael MK in the 10th Knesset, was not included in the Aguda list for today's election.  
Menashe Vardi, assistant to Shas list leader Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, said that the party has enough qualified candidates for any government positions it may receive.

**Likud, Labour trade last-minute jibes**

**By LEA LEVAVI**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — The two major parties summed up the election campaign at separate press conferences yesterday, each accusing the other of trying to heat up the campaign with provocations, and each complimenting itself for not having taken the bait.  
Deputy Prime Minister David Levy said the Alignment had tried to provoke the Likud with slogans like "The country is being destroyed" and "The country is stopped in its tracks," but he, as campaign chairman, ordered his people to exercise restraint.  
**Flatto-Sharon dropouts join Labour Party**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Former active members and candidates in Shmuel Flatto-Sharon's party held a press conference under police protection late last week to announce that they have formed a new movement, Yesh Aqid (There is a Future), and joined the Labour Party.  
Yossi Pe'er, former secretary-general of Flatto-Sharon's party and leader of the new movement, said the police had been called to Beit Sokolow because Flatto-Sharon's people had threatened to disrupt the press conference and beat up those of their former colleagues who participated.



Vacationing Tel Aviv schoolchildren yesterday hold an impromptu cleanup campaign on a street littered with newspapers and election material. (Rivka Finder)

**New Knesset could begin on August 13**

**By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN**  
**Post Knesset Reporter**  
Although a new Knesset will be elected today, the 10th Knesset remains in office until the 11th is convened, and if any parliamentary action should be required before then, the outgoing Knesset would be called for a special session.  
Under the Knesset rules a new Knesset convenes at 4 p.m. on the second Monday after the publication of the election results in *Reshumot*, the official gazette. In 1981, the results were published 10 days after the elections. Unless the count this time takes much longer, the 11th Knesset will hold its inaugural session August 13. (See back page.)  
The session will be opened by President Chaim Herzog, who will speak on national issues and then turn the chair over to the oldest MK who, after taking the oath of office, and reading out the oath for the other 119 members, will conduct the election of the Speaker. The House will then elect an "arrangements committee" to settle questions concerning committees, committee chairmanships, and deputy speakerships.  
When the 10th Knesset convened on July 20, 1981, it elected a Speaker. But the near-equilibrium between the Alignment and the Likud led to disputes over the other issues which paralyzed the Knesset until August 18.  
What broke the deadlock was the Likud's threat to push its proposals for committee "chairmanships" through the plenum by the votes of the coalition majority, instead of the usual prior agreement between the two largest parties.  
After disposing of any emergency legislation that the government may present, the Knesset will undoubtedly recess until after the fall holidays, though it can of course be called into session.  
Like the outgoing Knesset, the outgoing government remains in office until a new government is formed, so that it is quite possible for the old government to present bills for the approval of the new Knesset.

**Misbehaving racquet to get chance at Olympics**

**Post Sports Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Amos Mansdorf, 18, who was expelled from Israel's Davis Cup team against Switzerland for "flagrant lack of discipline," will nevertheless represent Israel at the Olympic Games exhibition tennis tournament.  
This decision was reached at last night's special meeting of the Israel Tennis Association presidium, which heard a full report of Mansdorf's misconduct from the Davis Cup team's on-playing captain Yosef Stabholz. The presidium will decide what action to take against Mansdorf when he returns from the tournament. ITA chairman David Harnik said after the meeting.  
Mansdorf is to leave on Wednesday for the Olympic tennis meet, which is being contested by the world's top 32 men and women players under the age of 21.

**CARS, BUSES**

(Continued from Page One)  
tion computer in Jerusalem.  
For Jerusalemites and tourists in the capital today, there will be a *Jerusalem Post*-sponsored Election Day Happening at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, beginning at 9:30 p.m.  
Hundreds of foreign journalists have arrived in the country over the past few days to cover the election. The journalists will have at their disposal a satellite transmission facility and a communications centre at Tel Aviv's Palace Hotel.  
Teams have arrived from Hungary, Lebanon, Egypt and the Far East.

The Weizmann Institute of Science deeply mourns the passing, after a long illness, of  
**JACQUES WORMSER**  
a dedicated member of its Board of Governors and Vice-President of the National Council of the French Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science

**Listening device detected at 'Time' Jerusalem office**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
A private investigator says he discovered the existence of a bugging device in the Jerusalem offices of *Time* magazine, and believes that it was installed somewhere in the walls nearly a year ago.  
Haim Bishnisky said yesterday that his equipment detected the presence of a device, but that he was unable to find the actual transmitter.  
His company was hired by *Time* recently when reporter David Halevy suspected that someone was listening to his calls. Investigators determined the frequency on which the device was transmitting, but could not find the transmitter itself. Bishnisky believes that the device is not "dead."  
*Time* correspondents were tight-lipped yesterday when asked for details about the bugging device. *Time* is the defendant in a libel case by Minister Ariel Sharon, who is suing the magazine for what it included in a report about the war in Lebanon. Because of this, *Time* staffers said, they have been instructed not to comment to the press on anything concerning the magazine.  
The *Time* office relocated last January in a building in Rehov Otniel in the Baka's quarter after moving from its location in Talbiyah.  
*Time* representatives would not comment yesterday on any action they plan to take to find out who planted the listening device.

**Wildcat strike creates chaos for travellers at Ben-Gurion**

**By JOSHUA BRILLIANT**  
**Post Aviation Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Some 4,000 passengers were stranded yesterday for several hours at Ben-Gurion Airport because its workers held a wildcat strike demanding higher pay.  
Sundays are particularly busy at the airport, and 22 departures were delayed. The strike began at midnight, was called off at 2 a.m., resumed at 6 a.m. and ended at 10:45 a.m.  
Even after the strike ended, hours passed until work returned to normal. Because of the strike the airlines delayed checking-in passengers. Towards noon the main entrance hall was jammed with travellers leaning against baggage-laden carts. Some told *The Jerusalem Post* they had been waiting for over three hours.  
Airport sources said the strike erupted because of an argument over compensation for improving efficiency. A management source told *The Post* the workers had demanded a rise in their basic pay. The Transport Ministry had turned this down, but suggested they be paid for raising their output.  
Shlomo Azulai, chairman of the works committee, told *The Post* the strike was called following a breakdown in talks about improved efficiency.  
Following an agreement reached at the Tel Aviv Labour Court, the parties resumed talks and Azulai said "an understanding" had been reached. Negotiations are to continue.  
Passengers on TWA, Lufthansa and two El Al planes were caught after they had boarded, but before the planes could take off. An El Al spokesman told *The Post* the strikers had not allowed the buses to bring the passengers back to the terminals. El Al, he said, served meals, distributed reading material and in one instance showed a film.  
The delays were expected to affect the airlines' entire schedule. Because the El Al planes left four hours late, the return flights were also delayed.

**Peace theme at local Egyptian party**

**By MARK SEGAL**  
**Post Political Correspondent**  
TEL AVIV. — The country's warring party leaders drank a toast to Israel-Egypt peace last night at Egypt's national day party around the swimming pool of Tel Aviv's Diplomat Hotel.  
The celebrations were moved forward by one day by the Egyptian mission because of today's election.  
Egyptian Charge d'affaires Mohammed Bassiouny greeted over 2,000 guests, including Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, Tourism Minister Avraham Shari, Minister without Portfolio Sara Doron, and outgoing Speaker Menachem Savidor.  
The Alignment was represented by Labour Party leader Shimon Peres, MKs Yitzhak Rabin, Moshe Shahal, Haim Bar-Lev, and Mapam leader Chaim Grossman.  
Among the more than 300 Palestinian Arab dignitaries were Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij and Rashad Shawwa of Gaza. Many Beduin and Druse personalities were also there.  
Yahad leader Ezer Weizman chatted alternately with Labour and Likud leaders, and with Progressive List leader Uri Avnery.  
Also plunging through the crowd was candidate Lova Eliav.  
Jewish Agency Executive chairman Arye Dulzin attended, and the diplomatic corps was led by doyen U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis.  
The Egyptian atmosphere was enhanced by models of the pyramids, and a large cake decorated in the Egyptian and Israeli national colours and two chocolate doves.

**American jailed for shooting at Arab bus**

Matthew Leibowitz, an American citizen and follower of Kach leader Meir Kahane, was yesterday jailed for three years for shooting at a bus carrying Arab workers near Ramallah last March.  
The Jerusalem District Court also gave Leibowitz a three-year suspended sentence.  
Leibowitz, 23, a tourist, was accused with two other Kahane followers of shooting at the bus and wounding six Arabs.  
Levy Hazzan, 23, was sentenced earlier to 21 months for his part in the shooting. A third defendant, Yehuda Richter, 21, is still on trial.  
Hazzan and Richter, both from Los Angeles, hold dual U.S.-Israeli citizenship, and were serving in the IDF at the time of the shooting. Leibowitz is from New York City.  
Richter is a candidate for the Knesset, running as No. 2 on the Kach list.  
Hosana Hosem, 21, of Lod, was remanded for 15 days. A police representative told the court that Hosem had been arrested late last week after being a fugitive since soon after the murder.  
Hosem was also said to have been involved in drug dealing, and to have carried out an armed robbery in Ramallah two months ago.

The Chairman of the Board, Moshe Rivlin, the members and the staff of Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael deeply mourn the passing of  
**LOUIS BLOOMFIELD**  
whose life was unstintingly dedicated to the redemption of our ancestral soil. His blessed memory will be forever engraved in the perennial furrows of our land.  
Our condolences to his wife Justine and all members of the family.

**TURNOUT**

(Continued from Page One)  
agencies as well as the private school sector will be closed for the day along with schools and universities. Except for minor schedule changes on local routes, public transport companies will operate as usual today. In addition to serving a heavier-than-normal passenger load because of the work holiday, inter-urban buses and trains will also carry — free of charge — voters who wish to travel to their home polling places to cast their ballots.  
"We are approaching Zero-hour," Justice Gavriel Bach, chairman of the Central Elections Committee, told reporters in Jerusalem yesterday. "The electioneering part of the campaign is over. From now until we announce the results, our ears and eyes will be focussed on the polling places and their pipeline to the regional election centres and election headquarters here in the Knesset building."  
"Despite the complaints we have received," Bach said, "and the occasional disputes, this campaign has been an exemplary one and I hope it will remain so until the end."  
To ensure every citizen his right of suffrage, Bach said, special arrangements have been made for *kalfi* wardens to facilitate the voting process for the aged, disabled or blind voters. Where a voter must climb steps to reach the station, wardens will help the elderly and will carry voters restricted to wheelchairs up to the station.  
Blind voters or those physically unable to handle a ballot slip and insert it into the envelope and ballot box are permitted to bring an escort into the voting booth.  
The only document a voter needs is his ID card. If he has the newer, card-type ID card, he should make sure to bring along the appendage, part on which his voting will be registered.  
If more than one ballot slip of the same list is found in a voter's envelope, that list will be credited with only one vote. If slips for more than one party list are found, the vote is disqualified on the spot.  
Each *kalfi* is staffed by three to five members, one of whom is a civil servant who serves as secretary. The other members are representatives of the party lists. When a voter submits his ID card and is handed his ballot envelope, it should be signed by one *kalfi* member and countersigned by the secretary. The voter then steps behind the curtain to select and insert a ballot slip of his choice into the envelope. When he emerges, he deposits his envelope into the ballot box outside, and is given back his ID card with "Voted for the 11th Knesset" stamped on it.  
Preliminary reports yesterday said that the turnout among soldiers voting in Lebanon was high. OC Northern Command, Aluf Orr Orr, had ordered officers to make sure that all their men had the opportunity to vote.

**GRIM MOOD**

(Continued from Page One)  
Hanoch Smith and Modi'in Ezrabi, which showed a narrowing of the gap between the major parties. But cautious Labourites too felt that even the elections results bore out the predictions of the *Israel Post*, the Alignment still would have solid enough lead to be called upon to put together the new government.  
The Smith poll, published yesterday in *The Jerusalem Post*, shows the Alignment getting 48 seats and the Likud 41. That poll was conducted on July 17 and 18. A Modi'in Ezrabi poll conducted on July 18 and 19 and published yesterday indicates 46 going to the Alignment and 40 to the Likud.  
Even the most optimistic Likud analysts did not speak of a Likud victory and not even of parity with the Alignment. According to the most optimistic Likud scenario, if the Alignment leads the Likud by no more than three to four Knesset seats, the Likud would be in a better position to put together the next coalition. This would also be the case if the combined strength of the Likud and Tzohar adds 50 MKs. Should either scenario come true, the Likud would have a better chance of attracting the religious parties, it is said.  
Moreover, it is argued that if the gap is not too large, the Likud might also have a better chance of a coalition deal with Ezer Weizman's list. Even if he only wins a handful of seats, Weizman may become a key figure after the election, since his list could be a coalition partner for anyone.

**ASSEMBLYMEN.** — Members of the Philippine National Assembly will in future be called *Mambatas*, *Pambansa* meaning national legislators, instead of assemblymen because "ASS," the abbreviation for assemblymen, did not look good on nameplates.



## Drastic Ministry cuts in aid to immigrants

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Since Tami took control of the Absorption Ministry three years ago, assistance to immigrants appears to have been cut drastically in many important areas.

The two major factors responsible for the decline are the minister's part-time occupation with absorption matters and his director-general's weakness in bargaining with the Finance Ministry for more funds.

The ministry can hardly be blamed for the unprecedented five-year nadir in immigration - with fewer than 20,000 immigrants annually since 1978. The near-closing of the emigration gates in the Soviet Union is partly responsible, as are the poor job of encouraging aliyah done by the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization and the country's economic and political problems.

But despite the fall in the number of immigrants, the level of assistance to those who have settled here has decreased.

For example, a new immigrant who wanted to set up a factory or other productive facility in a development area received an easy-term loan of \$20,000 before Minister Avraham Uzan and former director-general Eli Artzi (who recently resigned to run as a Tami candidate for the Knesset) took over the ministry. Today, the loan is \$9,000.

Another benefit that has been cut is help for immigrant scientists. Previously, the ministry funded the salary of such immigrants for three years, in the hope that after the period of subsidization, their employers would keep them on. Today, immigrant scientists are subsidized for two years, and many are dismissed at the end of this period.

The ministry cannot claim that it was forced to shorten the benefit period because of any increase in the number of scientists applying. In fact, largely due to the extreme decline in Russian immigration, the number of scientists involved in the programme is now about 300, compared to some 500 before Uzan took over the ministry.

Students who immigrated have also suffered as a result of the budget cuts. Previously, they received a subsidy of some \$100 a month to help them with their studies. Now, they receive \$40 to

\$50 monthly.

For years, new immigrants were entitled to receive basic furniture - beds, tables and chairs - financed by a low-cost loan, during their first three to five years in the country. The beds were cheap iron-and-spring contraptions known popularly as "Jewish Agency beds," but they were welcomed by those who needed them.

To the ministry's credit, it took over the furniture business from the Jewish Agency, making the operation much more efficient and providing much better quality goods, including beds and tables of formica-covered wood. However, except for singles, students and immigrants from Ethiopia, the entitlement period is now three months. Few immigrants can take advantage of the offer immediately, because they cannot store the furniture in their absorption centre rooms. Thus, this benefit exists mainly on paper.

Israeli emigrant scientists who returned to Israel used to receive assistance for a year. Following a decision by Artzi, such aid has been eliminated.

The ministry has maintained at a decent level the mortgages available for immigrants and subsistence money given immigrants immediately after their arrival. But nothing has been done to help single immigrants. While dozens of hostels for single immigrants were built in previous years, not one such facility has been built for unmarried young or elderly immigrants since 1981. And there is none in the planning stage.

Uzan, who doubles as minister of labour and social affairs, has concentrated his efforts on that field - largely because the needy were the main potential constituency of his Tami Party. He established his main headquarters in the absorption ministry's office on the first floor of Building 2 in Jerusalem's Kirya, preferring it to the less spacious and less comfortable office of the minister of labour and social affairs upstairs in the same building. However, he devoted little time to absorption, leaving it to his director-general.

Eli Artzi, replaced recently by veteran ministry staffer Ephraim Cohen, regularly got into fights with officials of the Housing Ministry and the Jewish Agency. His remarks about Housing

Minister David Levy at a Knesset committee meeting led Levy to storm out and Uzan to apologize.

Artzi proved impotent in his dealings with the Finance Ministry, which repeatedly cut absorption budgets. The ministry's funds were cut not only due to the decrease in the number of immigrants, but also due to the decreased help it gave each immigrant.

Apparently, when the Treasury negotiated with Artzi and his minister, it offered to cut Labour and Social Affairs budgets less if they agreed to bigger cuts in absorption funds.

In addition, Artzi failed to persuade his own minister to fight against the government's change in housing policy. This nearly eliminated public housing for new immigrants, forcing them to take government mortgages instead. Those immigrants who lack the money to buy an apartment on the private market - and who in the past could live in public housing at subsidized rents and with an option to buy - are now out of luck. Both Levy and Uzan opposed continuing the long-established policy of providing immigrants with the alternative of government housing.

Today, there is no public housing, even in development towns, except for Ethiopian immigrants and others who come with no assets.

Thus, immigrants have little incentive to move to development areas and the government has lost a means of dispersing the population away from crowded urban areas. Apartments for sale in development towns are no cheaper than those on the periphery of Jerusalem, as in Ma'ale Adumim and Pisgat Ze'ev, or in the administered territories.

All of these factors have led to low morale among the ministry's staff of 450. Many professional staffers have left, to be replaced by Tami sympathizers.

The conclusion is that Tami has failed to defend the interests of new immigrants, and that in the next government, absorption must receive not only larger budgets, but also a full-time minister who is primarily concerned with immigrants and their needs.

When asked for his reaction last night, the Absorption Ministry refused to comment.



Beit She'an residents and others demonstrate yesterday opposite the Prime Minister's Office against unemployment and dismissals in the Jordan Valley town. The placard on right says: "Jerusalem Labour Council identifies with strikers at Beit She'an Engines." The placard in centre says: "Development towns are more important than Judea and Samaria." (Dan Landau)

## Author dedicated to teaching children about the Holocaust

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - A new book for children on the Holocaust, *Clara's Story*, is about to be released by the Jewish Publication Society of America. Its author, Clara Isaacman, is a Holocaust educator in Philadelphia who has taught over 2,000 Jewish and non-Jewish children about the Holocaust and hopes to reach tens of thousands more through the book.

"The difference between this book and, say, *The Diary of Anne Frank* is that Anne Frank didn't survive, and hers is the story of one little girl. Mine is the story of my whole family, and of the Jews and non-Jews who helped keep us alive, with emphasis on the humanitarian side," Isaacman told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

She and her family were hidden in 18 places during the Nazi occupation of Antwerp, and the book empha-

sizes the courage and selflessness of those who hid them.

She said she thinks money should be put into books and education on the Holocaust rather than into Holocaust monuments in the U.S. "Once the survivors die, you won't have more than 50 people a year visiting the monument. The important thing is to reach the children through education, not as a history lesson but as something they have to prevent from happening again."

Isaacman is planning a book for adults in which she will tell about her first 15 years in the U.S. when few talked about the Holocaust. She came to the U.S. in 1946 with her husband Daniel Isaacman, who had been an American soldier in Antwerp. He later became president of Gratz College and she became a Hebrew teacher and teacher trainer, in addition to being active in Pioneer Women and other organizations. Her husband died two years ago.

## Three get life sentences in murder-robbery trial

TEL AVIV (Itim). - The trial of three men for the December 1981 murder of Ramle detention centre warden Ronnie Nitzan and the robbery a month later of a Ramat Gan jewelry workshop in which a guard was killed ended in the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday with life prison sentences for all three defendants.

The three - Herzl Avitan, 31, Ya'acov Shemesh, 28, and Amnon Nitzan, 28 - were all found guilty in the robbery case. In the murder of Nitzan, for which Avitan and Shemesh were charged, only Shemesh was found guilty.

The three accused sat quietly as judges Yehoshua Gross, Moshe Hasson and Yosef Goldberg read the verdict and passed sentence. The judges said that both Avitan and Shemesh had committed their crimes while they were escapees from prison. Avitan had been serving a 15-year sentence for a Ramat Aviv bank robbery.

District attorney Penina Dvorin had argued that Shemesh and Avitan killed Nitzan out of hatred, for he and his warden submitted prisoners to enemas while they were in prison to prevent them from smuggling in drugs.

According to testimony by state

witness Moshe Cohen, the two men had stopped Nitzan while he was on the way to work one morning, and after a brief exchange of words, Avitan had emptied the magazine of an Uzi submachine gun into the warden. Only Shemesh was found guilty, however, because there was no corroborating testimony against Avitan. Children on their way to school the day of the murder testified that one of the murderers had a "Mexican" moustache, which fitted the description of Shemesh.

In the jewelry robbery case, the three defendants were found guilty of breaking into the Keren Or showroom wearing masks and armed with an Uzi and handguns. In the shoot-out which ensued, the guard, David Ashuri, was killed.

## Galilee man jailed for drunken driving

ACRE (Itim). - A 44-year-old man from the Western Galilee village of Mazra'a was sentenced by a magistrate's court judge here yesterday to four months in jail and fined 150,000 for drunken driving.

Najib Shaki was convicted of driving under the influence of alcohol last Thursday.

## Dutiful watchdog wins reprieve by court

HAIFA (Itim). - A Haifa Magistrate's Court judge yesterday rejected the request of an Agriculture Ministry veterinarian to order the destruction of a German shepherd watchdog that allegedly bit six persons during the past two years.

Judge Michaela Shidlovsky turned down the request by Dr. Marcel Lupovitz on the grounds that the veterinarian had failed to ascertain the circumstances of the dog's attacks or to establish who had been bitten.

The dog's owner, Ze'ev Winick, told the court that the dog guards his construction company's building site in Acre, which had been subject to pilfering. The dog is chained but is able to run freely between two storage sheds. The site is posted with a sign warning trespassers of the dog's presence, Winick noted.

"The dog was only doing his job," Winick told the court, "and if he bit people, then they were trespassing."

The judge agreed, saying those bitten by the watchdog had no business being at the construction site. Judge Shidlovsky also recommended that the Agriculture Ministry issue directives to veterinarians covering instances where people are bitten by watchdogs.

## JNF: Only you can prevent forest fires

The Jewish National Fund has appealed to the public to be careful not to create fire hazards in parks and forests during this summer season. The public is asked to cooperate with forest rangers, and not to light bonfires.

Many dunams of forest have been destroyed by fires in the last 10 days near Carmiel and elsewhere in the Galilee.

## 4,000-year-old village found in Greenland

GODTHAAB, Greenland (Reuters). - A settlement more than 4,000 years old has been discovered near Christianshøb on Greenland's western coast. Greenland Radio Friday reported.

Archaeologists in a joint Greenland-Danish team uncovered the site and found a well-preserved dunghill, arrowheads and stone tools including knives dating from before 2000 BCE.

The settlement, on the island of Qeqertaa Sussuk, is among the oldest found on Greenland.

## Jerusalem area to get special riot squad

By ROBERT ROSENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Southern District Police Commander Avraham Turgenman last week made his first major operative decision since taking over the post from Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi, by ordering the formation of a special riot-control force, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The new force, to be headed by a chief inspector from the Border Police, is to be half policemen and half Border Policemen. The plan for the force was first raised during the days of former district commander Caspi, and Turgenman decided two weeks into his new job to set the plan into motion.

According to official sources, the

unit is to be called *Yalas*, the Hebrew acronym for Public Order Unit.

The commander of the unit will come from the elite anti-terror squad, which has yet to be involved in any anti-terror operations but has been used frequently during public disturbances in Jerusalem.

According to police sources, the unit is already being trained in a variety of anti-riot tactics hitherto unused during the many public disturbances that Jerusalem has seen over the past decade.

So far the unit has about 20 men in training, with another two dozen expected to be added before it is posted for action.

The organizational model for the unit is the American tactical police

forces, which specialize in crowd and riot control, *The Post* has learned.

The Jerusalem unit is being put together on an experimental basis. If it proves successful the police plan to establish similar squads for the West Bank and the Tel Aviv area.

Riot control has been a problematic issue for the police in the past because they have been forced to draft men into the job on an ad hoc basis, often with little or no special training. Only last year, during disturbances in Mea She'arim, did the police in Jerusalem for the first time use tactics more subtle than tear gas and clubbing to disperse crowds, using "corralling" methods to apprehend rioters.

## Haifa man arrested in wife's murder

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - A man allegedly killed his wife in their Rehov Hillel home in the Hadar quarter here early yesterday morning, then telephoned the police to inform them what he had done.

Police found the body of 48-year-old Blumetta Haimovitz in the couple's flat. She had been beaten over the head with a blunt instrument, apparently a hammer.

Her husband, Yosef, 54, was arrested and was said to be cooperating with the police in their inquiries. The police spokesman said there had been a long-standing quarrel between the couple. They had been married for 17 years and had a 15-year-old daughter.

## Terrorist bomber gets 30 years jail

LOD (Itim). - A terrorist who detonated a bomb and wounded a man near Kfar Sava in January 1983 was convicted yesterday of the crime and sentenced by the military court here to 30 years in prison.

The terrorist, Ibrahim Shanti, 28, of Kalkilya, was also convicted of belonging to Fatah. He had planted the bomb near the Tomb of Benjamin on the outskirts of Kfar Sava and detonated it when a Hagia (Civil Defence) soldier arrived in a car.

The Hagia man was wounded in the explosion and his car was destroyed.

## Double life term for slaying family

BEERSHEBA (Itim). - A man convicted of murdering his wife and infant daughter was sentenced to district court here yesterday to a double life sentence.

Baruch Zaoudi, 50, was found guilty of stabbing to death his wife Orit, last October, together with the couple's daughter Orit, aged six months.

The couple came to the country from Ethiopia in 1980. Since then, they had experienced difficulties in their marriage and had periods of separation.

The court determined that although there were no eyewitnesses to the killings, there was no doubt that the defendant had committed the murders.

## Hunger strike here in support of 'refuseniks'

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
World Union of Jewish Students activists began a three-day hunger strike at the Western Wall in Jerusalem in solidarity with 100 Soviet Jews who started fasting last week to protest against the authorities' refusal to let them emigrate to Israel.

David Makovsky, chairman of WUJS, led the fasters in Jerusalem. They will be joined by other WUJS

activists in New York, Washington, London, Los Angeles, and Jerusalem, who began their hunger strike today.

The 100 Jews of Riga decided that the start of their fast would coincide with the opening of a legal appeal by fellow *refuseniks* Zechar Sonnenschein, who was convicted of spreading "anti-Soviet propaganda" and who is being held in solitary confinement for "contempt of court."

## 13-year-old admits to 42 burglaries

ASHKELON (Itim). - A 13-year-old boy arrested here last week has confessed to carrying out more than 40 burglaries, and thefts recently, police said yesterday.

They said he admitted to 20 burglaries in schools, 15 thefts on the

beach and seven thefts from parked cars.

Meanwhile, in Kiryat Gat, police said that four juveniles aged between 10 and 12 have confessed to breaking into a local restaurant and making off with some 150,000 in cash.

## West Bankers interested in election - and envious

By DAVID RICHARDSON

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
An Arab primer in this newspaper's press shop surprised his colleagues over lunch in the canteen late last week when he told them that if he had the vote he would support Kach candidate Meir Kahane.

"He is the only one who is promising to deal with us," he said, parodying the racist propaganda of the American-born rabbi who advocates expelling most of the Arab population in the Land of Israel.

That is black humour, but it should not mislead one into thinking that Arabs residents of the territories are indifferent to the outcome of today's election. "After all, much of our well-being and our future do

depend on Israel which is occupying us," said Bashir Barghouti, the leader of the West Bank Communist Party.

A number of leading figures in the West Bank stated recently in a survey by the West Bank weekly *al-Awda* that they believe the Alignment will win the election, but they doubted whether a new government would be able to make substantial changes in the policy of occupation.

Most felt that the Alignment would make cosmetic changes and "improve the atmosphere," but would not really have the "courage or strength" to address Palestinian nationalist aspirations.

"The differences between the government and the opposition are only tactical," said Bassam Shak'a, the former mayor of Nablus who lost his legs in a Jewish terrorist attack four years ago. "At a strategic level both are utterly against the idea of a separate Palestinian state on the West Bank. Labour is looking for a deal with Jordan so that Israel can get rid of as much of the West Bank and its inhabitants as is consistent with its ideas of security. This will rob us of our rights just as surely as

occupation."

Shak'a, despite the aid he received from King Hussein following his maiming, remains implacably hostile to the idea of renewed Jordanian control over the West Bank. But Hussein still enjoys and actively fosters support on the West Bank, and his followers there would welcome the idea of federation with his kingdom.

They argue that under the Alignment, a deal with Jordan is at least possible and that would end the occupation. Under the Likud they know the government's policies were designed to prevent that option.

Given the repeatedly demonstrated absence of leadership in the West Bank or Gaza, for that matter, some deal between Labour and Hussein seems preferable.

East Jerusalem newspapers have been carrying widespread coverage and commentary on the election campaign over the past weeks. *Al-Fajr*, one of the most radically nationalist of the papers, even went so far as to publish large advertisements in support of the joint Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace led

by Haifa lawyer Mohammed Mi'ari.

The publication of the notices has reportedly led to a deep rift in the paper's editorial staff.

Privately many West Bankers are speculating that one of the first moves an Alignment government might make is to implement unilateral autonomy along lines suggested by the late Moshe Dayan, who is widely acknowledged as the major architect of Israel's policies in the territories.

For some strange reason the idea has taken on and is greeted favourably, although only two years ago, when it was associated with the Camp David agreements and the introduction of the civil administration, it was dismissed out of hand as a trick.

For most Palestinians in the territories, then, Israel's elections are rather like a neighbour's party to which they have not been invited. They watch from their balcony, often feign indifference but are embarrassedly envious as well. As Abed, a cook in a Jerusalem restaurant mused when asked if he would like the vote. "I have an I.D. card. I suppose I could take out citizenship and vote - but you know that for us that is very difficult."

Whatever the rhetoric in public, many Palestinian Arabs would like to see a change in government, simply because, as one of the East Jerusalem paper's leader writers said over the weekend, "A change of government gives us that much more hope, and that is something we really need."

A Kuwait daily yesterday quoted PLO leader Yasser Arafat as saying the Likud and the Alignment "are two sides of the same coin," and the Arabs should expect no change in the Mideast situation if the Likud is defeated.

"To entertain hopes based on the eventuality of the Labour Party winning elections is futile, disastrous," Arafat told *al-Anba*. "Both Likud and Labour, to me, stand for the same Zionist, expansionist and ugly entity which the Arabs will have to confront."

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## WORLD NEWS

### Genscher: Iranians seek renewed links with West

TEHERAN (AP). — Iran's revolutionary government has expressed the "clear wish" to gradually re-establish contacts with the West. West Germany's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said yesterday.

But Genscher said it is still "open" whether the Iranians are thinking about returning to speaking terms with the U.S. which Ayatollah Khomeini's government continues to describe as an enemy of the Islamic revolution.

Genscher made his comments in a news conference here yesterday, the last day of his weekend visit to Iran.

West German sources in Genscher's party said there are still many in the Iranian government who oppose resuming ties with the "devil, the United States."

But the Iranian leadership, especially parliamentary president Hashemi Rafsanjani, appear determined to break out of Iran's isolation and try to improve relations in general with the West, the sources said.

Genscher flew to Teheran Friday, becoming the first European Community foreign minister to visit Iran since the 1979 revolution that toppled Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Genscher returned to Bonn yesterday evening.

He said his talks with Iranian officials had been a success in "intensifying" West German-Iranian political ties. Economic relations between the two countries have continued to be favourable over the last five years.

### Pakistani foreign minister in Peking for annual talks

PEKING (Reuters). — The foreign minister of Pakistan arrived in Peking yesterday for talks with Chinese leaders which should be of interest to Washington, Moscow and New Delhi, western diplomats said.

A Pakistan Embassy spokesman said Shahabzada Yaqub Khan's meeting with China's Wu Xueqian was an annual event between the foreign ministers of two nations which have particularly close relations.

The New China News Agency reported later that Yaqub Khan said his talks with Wu would cover several pressing problems, including the Iran-Iraq war, the unsettled Middle East situation, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The U.S. has shown concern over reports of nuclear cooperation between Peking and Islamabad. Both China and Pakistan have denied

such cooperation. In Islamabad yesterday, the Pakistani finance minister denouncing what he called a western campaign to smear his country's nuclear programme, denied again that Islamabad was building an atomic bomb with Chinese help.

Ghulam Ishaq Kahn, the third cabinet minister to comment recently on the issue, said foreign critics were trying to divert attention from other states believed to be able to detonate an atomic device, the Associated Press of Pakistan reported.

President Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq asked in a speech on July 11 why Israel and South Africa, which like Pakistan have declined to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, were not subject to the same criticism.

### Soviets, W. Germans resolve 3-day stalemate over truck

BONN (Reuters). — West Germany and the Soviet Union yesterday ended a three-day stalemate over an impounded Moscow-bound truck after Soviet diplomats allowed West German customs men to inspect its nine tons of diplomatic cargo.

Chief government spokesman Peter Boenisch said the truck was carrying 207 packages which the Soviet Union said contained normal electronic radio, decoding and other equipment originally intended for use at the Soviet UN mission in Geneva.

But his statement made clear that, in compliance with the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations, West German officials had not opened the packages at the inspection.

West German media had speculated that the truck was carrying espionage gear or smuggled western technology.

"The container truck will resume its journey to the Soviet Union tomorrow and travel to the (East-West German) border under police escort," Boenisch said in a statement.

The white Mercedes truck had been held by customs men at the East-West German Helmsdorf border crossing since Thursday before being brought to the Soviet Embassy in Bonn for inspection early yesterday.

The truck was stopped at the border on its way back to Moscow after a similar stalemate in Geneva, where Swiss authorities refused to let it unload for the same reason.

In the search, West German officials only checked the Russian labelling on the bags and cartons in the truck against a list of the vehicle's freight provided by the Soviets, Boenisch said in a printed statement.

### Amnestied Solidarity heads may return to political life

WARSAW (Reuters). — Solidarity leaders granted an amnesty prepared yesterday for early release from jail and a possible return to opposition despite warnings from the authorities that fresh anti-Communist activity would be crushed.

Eleven senior advisers and officials of the banned free trade union are among 652 political prisoners to be freed under the amnesty proclaimed by parliament Saturday to mark the 40th anniversary of Communist rule in Poland.

The group, including KOR dissident movement founders Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik who are considered the intellectual mains-

pring of the opposition, must be freed within 30 days.

The activities of the 11, described by government spokesman Jerzy Urban as being among "Poland's most vicious opponents," will be closely monitored by the authorities, diplomats said.

Communist Party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski coupled the amnesty with a firm statement that "there cannot and will not be a return to anarchy... there will be no leniency for those who foment trouble."

To make it harder for opposition activity to be renewed, the government said the amnesty would be revoked for any released prisoner convicted of similar offences before the end of 1986.

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The Little Mermaid.

(Jerry Bergman)

### Copenhagen vandals cut off the Little Mermaid's arm

COPENHAGEN (AP). — One or more vandals operating under cover of darkness sawed off the right arm of the Little Mermaid statue early yesterday in the most brutal attack on the world's most photographed girl since someone decapitated her 20 years ago.

Tourists flocking to the world-famous Copenhagen landmark found the wistful mermaid looking sadder than ever with one arm gone and police experts searching everywhere for fingerprints and other clues to the amputation of 41 centimetres of the bronze mermaid's arm.

Police announced that the vandalism was discovered after midnight by a young couple taking a nightly stroll on the Langelinie Pier at the mouth of the Copenhagen harbour where the Little Mermaid perches atop a boulder at water's edge.

Thanks to the testimony of a Dane who took American visitors for a look at the then-complete statue at

11 p.m. Saturday, police could narrow the time of the crime to some point in a period of less than three hours.

"Not that it's likely to help much," the duty officer at Copenhagen criminal police headquarters said. "As of now we don't have a single clue."

The duty officer said that the sawing off of the mermaid's right arm from wrist — the hand is attached to her body — to shoulder could be done quickly with a hacksaw as bronze is soft and the arm was hollow.

The site where the mermaid has been sitting since 1913 is not very well lit, with trees and bushes barring the view of her from a distance. It's a rather lonely place at night.

The duty officer said that unless there is an unexpected, early break, the case will end up with the Copenhagen homicide squad, which is in charge of assaults on monuments and national symbols.

### Newsweek poll gives Mondale victory

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Democratic challengers Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro just edged out President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush in a Newsweek magazine poll on voting intentions conducted as the Democratic national convention ended last week.

The magazine said in a statement Saturday that 48 per cent of the people polled favoured the Democratic ticket for the November presidential elections, while 46 per cent

would vote for other candidates or were undecided.

The poll, conducted by the Gallup organization, surveyed 1,006 voters and its margin of error was four percentage points, the magazine said.

According to the magazine, 45 per cent said that what they had seen or read of the convention made them more likely to vote for the Democrats. Fifty-two per cent said they were swayed towards the Democrats by Ferraro's selection.

### Author of jogging guide dies while running

HARDWICK, Vermont (AP). — Jim Fixx, whose best-selling *The Complete Book of Running* helped push millions of people into the jogging craze, collapsed and died of a heart attack while jogging in northern Vermont, authorities said on Saturday. He was 52.

### U.S. kidnap victim rescued by police

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Edith Rosenkranz, the kidnapped wife of a wealthy retired businessman, was rescued Saturday night after police arrested two men trying to take delivery of a ransom package, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) said.

"The victim is safe and secure, and all the ransom money was recovered," an FBI spokesman said.

She was kidnapped at gunpoint in the underground garage of her hotel on Thursday. She and her husband, George, 68, were taking part in a bridge tournament here. The couple lives in Mexico City.

## Sports

### Servy takes the Open

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (Reuters). — Severiano Ballesteros of Spain won the 113th British Open golf championship by two strokes here yesterday. He fired a final round of 69 for a total of 27 ahead of joint runners-up West German Bernhard Langer, who shot a 71, and Tom Watson of the U.S., who carded 73.

Jim Baker-Finch of Australia, who led Watson at the start of the day, finally succumbed to the pressure and dropped five shots on the first nine holes.

Ballesteros, eager to atone for a poor season in the U.S., sank a 12-foot putt for a birdie on the fifth, then collected another on the 179-yard eighth when he hit his tee shot seven feet from the pin. Watson, meanwhile, three-pointed the second, fourth and fifth holes and appeared to end the matchless game.

### Bowling successes

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — Israelis continue to make their mark at the fifth Men's World Lawn Bowls Championships in Aberdeen, with both the singles and rinks teams winning two games and losing two over the weekend in the opening stages of these events.

In his two contrasting victories, Israel's Cecil Bransky routed his Kenyan opponent 21-1, but was then stretched to 21-20 in his encounter against the U.S.

But for former South African bowler Bransky, the highlight was his match against defending champion David Bryant of England, which he came within a whisker of winning before going out 21-20. With his last word, Bransky was lying closest to the jack and seemed certain to win. But Bryant, with his game and last bowl, removed the Israeli's wood with a magnificent shot, to deny Bransky what would have been the biggest upset victory to date in the 21-nation tournament. Bransky was beaten 21-17 by a Welshman.

In risk competition, the Israeli team of Ben Shoshovitz, Jack Trappier, Cecil Cooper and Nat Lazarus beat Papua 20-9 and Wales 20-7, but lost 23-12 to Hong Kong and 22-19 to Germany.

Earlier in the 21st-week meet, Israel finished in eighth overall place in the pairs event and 14th in the rinks. The manager of the Israeli team is Norman Sykes. The championships conclude through July 28.

### English conservatism

LONDON (AP). — English football 37-year-old defender Pat Fookes, who has been playing for 15 years, has been named the fourth best player in the world starting at Old Trafford on Thursday, despite expectations that the selectors would bring in new blood for the last two encounters.

The only new name in the squad of 22 is Kevin Keegan, who has been named the fourth best player in the world starting at Old Trafford on Thursday, despite expectations that the selectors would bring in new blood for the last two encounters.

The retention of Fookes, who has announced he will retire at the end of this season, and the exclusion of 23-year-old Kevin Keegan, who has been playing for the last five years, but not named in the squad, are likely to cause eyebrows.

Referee Maynard Clark of the English Football Association said: "I am not disappointed by the selection, but we understand from the people on the field that the ball was still coming through as quickly as ever and there was a tremendous amount of playing and smiling."

### Baseball: Saturday

American League  
Baltimore 4, Kansas City 3; Chicago 4, Cleveland 3; Minnesota 5, New York 2; Boston 16, California 4; Milwaukee 7, Oakland 4, 10 innings; Detroit 7, Texas 6; Seattle 9, Toronto 3.

National League  
Atlanta 3, Philadelphia 4; Chicago 4, San Francisco 3, 11 innings; Los Angeles 3, St. Louis 1; San Diego 6, Pittsburgh 4; New York 7, Cincinnati 2; Montreal 4, Houston 3.

**יחד יותר אנשים מחלימים**

**החוקה הלאומית**

**הפיקוד**

Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset  
Notice regarding the freedom, secrecy and honesty of the elections

Pursuant to para. 16 of the Election Law (Electronising Methods) 1983, the Chairman of the Central Elections Committee brings to the notice of the public the fact that elections to the Knesset are free and secret. Every citizen is entitled to vote freely and according to his conscience alone for one of the lists of candidates that have been approved for the elections for the Eleventh Knesset.

The Central Elections Committee has taken every appropriate step to ensure the secrecy of the elections, to prevent any possibility of discovering how a citizen voted.

These are the principal methods:

The envelope in which the voter places his ballot card is completely opaque and may be sealed by the voter.

Every electioneering booth will be provided with a curtain to guarantee the voter absolute privacy.

The voter, and only the voter, is entitled to place his/her ballot card in the envelope and the closed envelope in the ballot box where it is mixed up together with the envelopes of the other voters in the same area. But a person that is sick or disabled, and is unable to vote unaided, may bring another person with him, to provide physical aid.

The Law provides serious penalties for acts of bribery, or threats in connection with the elections, for disturbance of the elections and for voting not according to the provisions of the Law.

Five years imprisonment or a fine of IS 3,000,000 or both may be imposed on anyone who gives or offers a bribe to a voter, in order to influence how he votes; on anyone who accepts or agrees to accept a bribe, in connection with how he will vote; on anyone who threatens a voter with damage if he votes, or alternatively, if he does not vote; on anyone who promises a voter work, or threatens him with dismissal, in order to influence him to vote for any particular list.

Two years' imprisonment or a fine of IS 25,000 or both may be imposed on whoever disturbs the normal conduct of the elections in any way or who presents to a voting station committee a voter's card or identity card which is not his/hers, or who attempts to vote more than once.

I am sure that the provisions of the Law and the arrangements of the Central Elections Committee are sufficient to ensure that every citizen may vote freely, according to his will and conscience.

I call on all voters to cast their vote, in accordance with their own choice, and without fear of any kind.

Gavriel Bach, Judge of the Supreme Court  
Chairman, Central Elections Committee for the Eleventh Knesset



Sunday, July 22, 1984

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WEEKLY REVIEW

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Get a Spirited  
Start Up a  
Steep Hill

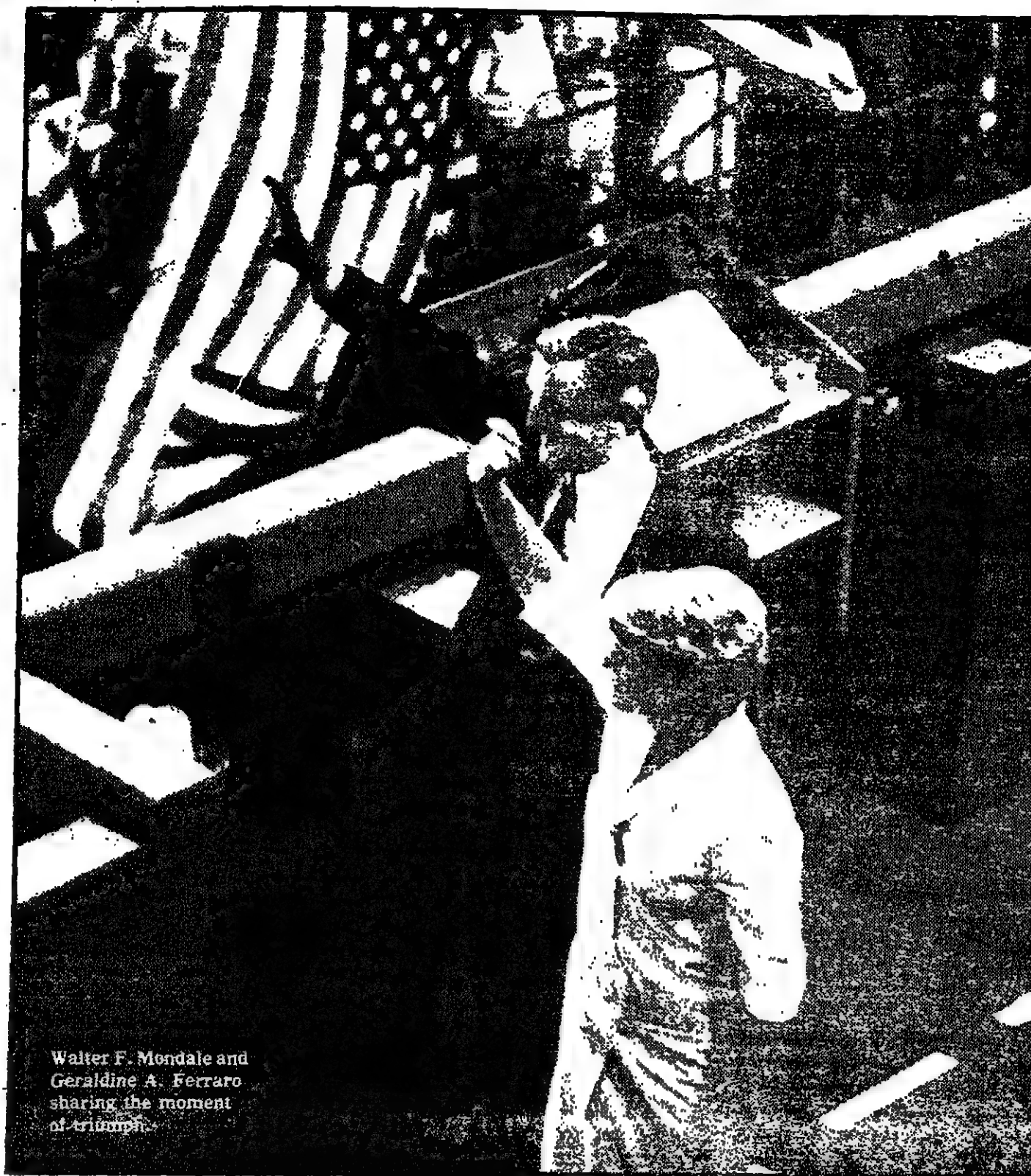
By HOWELL RAINES

**P**ERHAPS the best symbol of the distinctive feature of this Democratic National Convention was the moment just before Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro entered the San Francisco Opera House with Walter F. Mondale. Suddenly, the curtain lifted. There, awaiting the nation's first Presidential ticket balanced by gender, were arrayed in tiered seats 75 members of the pantheon of feminism. From Betty Friedan to Bella Abzug to Gloria Steinem, these were the leaders who forged "women's liberation" into a transforming force of American life.

In this triumphant scene on the eve of the convention, Mr. Mondale, the Presidential nominee, was upstaged, as he would be for much of the week, by the first woman to run for Vice President on the ticket of a major party. But Mr. Mondale could take comfort in knowing that the political energies set free in the opera house and later by the appearance of the Rev. Jesse Jackson at the convention may represent his best chance of reaching the White House. In choosing Mrs. Ferraro, Mr. Mondale may have shaken up the electoral demographics that seemed to be working strongly in favor of President Reagan. "All targeting projections in Presidential voting patterns are now gone, and the book's being rewritten," said Robert G. Beckel, Mr. Mondale's campaign manager.

Another Democrat, Secretary of State Max Cleland of Georgia, described how the energizing presence of Mrs. Ferraro and Mr. Jackson could work in his state, an exemplar of the conservative, generally Democratic Sun Belt state that must be denied Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Cleland, a student of turnout figures, said that a heavy black vote plus only 30 percent of the white vote could give Georgia to Mr. Mondale. Democratic strategists have long realized Mr. Jackson's potential to crank up black turnout. Mrs. Ferraro provides a new magnet



Walter F. Mondale and Geraldine A. Ferraro sharing the moment of triumph.

United Press International; Associated Press; The New York Times / Paul Rosenthal

for attracting that essential white minority.

Even so, there are two huge obstacles to a Democratic victory, which suggest that it can be achieved only with consummate performances by the nominees, expert strategic calculations and positive public response to a woman at the front rank of elected politics. One obstacle is the formidable campaign combine built around a popular incumbent and a united Republican Party. Even in their most celebratory mood, most of the delegates here

acknowledged that their precedent-breaking ticket faced an uphill battle.

The other obstacle had to do with the convention itself. The Democratic Party left San Francisco less than totally unified. One measure of the deep divisions in the party was the raid on Mondale delegates mounted by the campaigns of Mr. Jackson and Senator Gary Hart after the former Vice President's advisers thought they had struck deals with both men. Mondale delegate trackers said that these unsuccessful raids produced the tensest times of the convention. They were shaken when Mr. Jackson, the man upon whom Mondale is counting to make his case to black America, instead used his last session with the black delegates' caucus to warn that the Mondale campaign had awarded women and white Southerners with key appointments and given them "nothing." A few hours later Mr. Jackson delivered his conciliatory address to the convention.

On Friday, Mr. Mondale and his advisers were still negotiating with him about his role in the fall campaign. They were also promising to help retire Mr. Hart's \$4 million dollar campaign debt to insure that the new Democratic unity would extend, as Mr. Mondale said in his acceptance speech, "from yuppies to lunch pail." Despite Mr. Mondale's effort to bind his competitors with promises and rewards, the convention produced its share of sour notes. Mr. Mondale's aborted attempt to remove the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Charles T. Manatt, on the eve of a convention in Mr. Manatt's home state, undermined the candidate's reputation as a master of party protocol. And Mr. Mondale's installation of Bert Lance, a politically flawed figure from the Carter years, as general chairman of his campaign shook the delegates' faith in their nominee's political judgment. (Mondale's kitchen cabinet, page 2.)

But in the main, the frolicsome ambiance of San Francisco and an extraordinary four-day renaissance of the art of political oratory prevailed over the candidates' inclination to squabble. The oratorical fireworks also served notice that Mr. Hart, despite his success in hammering into the platform a plank limiting the use of American troops abroad, acquired a strong new set of competitors for leadership of the Democratic future. Many people in San Francisco felt that Governor Cuomo in a half-hour address did as much to project himself as a Presidential contender as Mr. Hart had accomplished in the five months of campaigning that separated his victory in the New Hampshire primary and his final defeat in the roll-call on Wednesday.

And from Mr. Cuomo and some others flowed language so fine as to amount, some said, to the making of literature. Mr. Cuomo moved the audience with his somber account of his family's transit from an immigration entry port to the Governor's Mansion in Albany. Mr. Jackson transported the delegates with a speech that came close to being an act of contrition for talking, earlier this year, in terms regarded as anti-Semitic.



Governor Cuomo, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Senator Gary Hart at the Democratic National Convention last week.



Feminist celebration: Betty Friedan embracing Mrs. Ferraro at a meeting at the San Francisco Opera House, with Gloria Steinem (left), Representative Lindy Boggs and Bella Abzug.

## Reagan's Offensive Will Begin This Week

## G.O.P. Reaction: Big Deal



President Reagan, Vice President Bush, Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Hanford Dole and Governor Keen as Mr. Reagan prepared to sign a bill at a White House ceremony last week.

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

**T**HEY loved it when Walter F. Mondale said he would raise taxes if elected President. They talked with glee about how the Democratic nominee had "snubbed" the South in picking his running mate. They belittled his efforts to expropriate the Republican themes of family, community, work and love of country. In spite of all their attempts to guard themselves against overconfidence, gloating prevails among President Reagan's re-election advisers. It does not seem to have been diminished by the unity celebration the Democrats staged at their national convention in San Francisco last week.

There are, however, uncertainties. For example, a senior White House official said it would take some time to gauge the effects of the nomination of Geraldine A. Ferraro for Vice President. Campaign aides say also they are certain that Mr. Reagan's lead in the polls will close soon.

The Republicans lost little time in setting plans to take the offensive. Strategists, who had been considering a new round of tough television commercials after the Democratic convention, decided to send Mr. Reagan on the road instead. On Wednesday, the President goes to Texas and Georgia to capitalize on the slight to the South that they perceive. Then it's New Jersey, in Mrs. Ferraro's backyard, for a spaghetti supper and remarks at a festival at St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church in Hoboken.

White House biographers noted that St. Ann is the patron saint of women. The visit neatly symbolizes Mr. Reagan's intention to challenge the Demo-

crats' appeal to working-class Roman Catholics in the Northeast and Middle West, and to women.

To the President's senior advisers, the most startling aspect of the Democratic convention was Mr. Mondale's attempt to speak to basic American values, much as Mr. Reagan has for years and as he did last week in speeches celebrating Captive Nations Week and the families of servicemen missing in action. "He'll never get away with it," a top campaign aide said. "Mondale is matched up against a man who has been talking about these things all his career." Yet he acknowledged that if he were advising Mr. Mondale, he would suggest just such an approach. He predicted that attacking the Reagan program as harmful to working people would not strike a chord. "Another thing that won't work is if Mondale tries to scare people into thinking that there'll be a war if Reagan is re-elected," he added.

But top aides say now it was a mistake for Mr. Reagan to suggest 10 days ago that the Ferraro selection was "tokenism." They agree that if he charged that the Democrats were insincere in embracing old-fashioned values, it would likely backfire. Mr. Reagan may also be somewhat vulnerable to Mr. Mondale's charge that he will raise taxes. The President has called for a vast tax "simplification" scheme to be unveiled after he is elected. Republican economists say tax increases will be necessary; indeed, Mr. Reagan last week quietly signed a bill raising taxes \$20 billion in the next three years, as part of the "down payment" on the Federal deficit he first called for. Thus the White House could be forced to drop its argument that there is no "secret plan" on taxes and come forward with more specifics, as Mr. Mondale last week challenged the President to do.

China's leaders  
and Hong Kong's  
future

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Mrs. Ferraro, although more plainspoken, invoked an America rooted in the values of work, family, faith and community. The aim of all this, as Mr. Hart summed it up, was to show that the Republicans do not "own the flag."

For in this convention the Democrats were a party not so much moving as racing back toward the political and cultural center and the "traditional family values" that Mr. Reagan made his own in the 1980 campaign. In his acceptance speech, Mr. Mondale acknowledged that being on a ticket defeated by Mr. Reagan in 1980 had tempered his liberalism with a "new realism." "Look at our platform," he said. "There are no defense cuts that weaken our security, no business taxes that weaken our economy, no laundry lists that raid our Treasury."

Despite Mr. Mondale's talk of change, most strategists felt that his nomination marked the playing out of a great cycle of Democratic Party history rather than the start of something new. Setting aside the possibility of a run by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, most Democrats expect that Mr. Mondale will be the last nominee with personal ties to the definition of the party rooted in the 1932 election and elaborated in the New Deal and the Great Society. From Mr. Hart to Mr. Cuomo, representatives of the next generation agreed that the party must find new sources of inspiration and new electoral foundations.

## End of a Cycle

Mr. Mondale, although anchored in a Democratic tradition that is fading after a half-century, used last week to point a way toward that future and to offer himself as a transition figure. The Minnesotan confounded those who thought him terminally cautious by his history-making choice of Mrs. Ferraro as his running mate. But this election depends now on factors that may not be influenced by the good vibrations from a Democratic convention for which Mondale aides cited, with justification, as the most successful since 1964. Even the fact that important Democratic constituencies, such as blacks and Jews, reached a ritual agreement to observe the forms of Democratic comity may not be decisive in this election.

The outcome depends on several unpredictable factors. One is the effect of Mr. Jackson's call for broader black participation. Then there is the question of whether Mr. Mondale, the quintessential party man, can extend his appeal beyond the Democratic core. Finally, there is the question of the energies represented by the ebullient reception that Mrs. Ferraro received at the San Francisco Opera House. In sum, a nation that enjoyed a Democratic convention unlike any other must wait to see whether Geraldine Anne Ferraro goes into history as a winner of votes or a footnote.



# The Nation

## Law Is Signed To Nudge States On Drinking Age

At first President Reagan criticized legislation designed to force states to raise their minimum drinking ages as just another instance of Washington wanting to meddle in the states' affairs. But last week, as he signed the bill in a ceremony in the Rose Garden, he sounded like a lifelong advocate: Because the problems caused by young drunken drivers are "bigger than the individual states," the President said, he had "no misgivings about this judicious use of Federal power."

Looking on were representatives of such groups as Mothers Against Drunk Driving, which had lobbied for the legislation for years. "We know that drinking plus driving spell disaster," Mr. Reagan said. "We know that people in the 18-to-20 age group are more likely to be in alcohol-related accidents than those in any other age group."

Twenty-three states now have a minimum drinking age of 21. Under the new law, the Government will withhold 5 percent of Federal highway construction funds from states that fail to raise their minimum drinking age to 21 by Oct. 1, 1985. For states that still refuse to raise the drinking age, the amount of highway money withheld will increase an additional 5 percent the following Oct. 1. At the same time, extra Federal funds for highway safety projects will be available for states that enact automatic jail terms and license revocations for those convicted of drunken driving.

## Day of Killing In California

One afternoon last week, in the California border community of San Ysidro, near San Diego, James Oliver Huberty, an unemployed security guard, put on combat fatigues and told his wife he was "going hunting humans." Armed with a 12-gauge shotgun and two other firearms, Mr. Huberty went to a nearby McDonald's restaurant and began shooting. Before a police marksman shot him dead, 90 minutes later, he had killed 21 people and injured 19.

It was the worst single-day massacre by a lone gunman in United States history. "He turned around and started shooting everything in sight," said Police Chief Bill Kolender. "The guy fired just eight million times." The dead included restaur-



Wounded survivor of the McDonald's restaurant shootings in San Ysidro, Calif.

rant workers, customers — many of them children — and passers-by. The toll could go higher; Some of the 19 people who were hospitalized were said to be in guarded condition.

There was some confusion initially among police on the scene about how to proceed. The senior special weapons and tactics team leader there at one point authorized a shoot-to-kill order. However, a more senior SWAT team member, delayed in traffic, countermanded the order by radio. Eight minutes later, he reinstated the order. Police said this "unusual" departure from procedure would be reviewed this week.

San Diego County's coroner said an autopsy showed that Mr. Huberty, who had moved to the area in December after losing another job, at a power-plant construction site in Ohio, "had no physical defects whatsoever" and had not been under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

"There is no known motive for the shooting," a police spokesman said. "However, Huberty had seemed somewhat despondent over the recent loss of his job." Mrs. Huberty apologized in a letter to a local television station.

"I am truly sorry for the problems that my husband caused," she said. "I don't believe he came into this community with that type of intention. In a normal state of mind, he loved children, in particular little

girls. He would never harm a child." Joan Kroc, the widow of the McDonald's founder, established a fund to help pay for medical treatment and counseling for the victims and relatives. Mrs. Kroc, a San Diego resident, made a personal contribution of \$100,000. The McDonald's Corporation donated \$1 million.

## Bank Buyer Of Last Resort

There isn't exactly a seller's market in failing banks. In fact, there doesn't appear to be any market for Continental Illinois, which has been foundering under the weight of \$3 billion to \$5 billion in questionable loans. So last week officials of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation were working on a plan under which the agency would step in and, in effect, turn the nation's eighth biggest bank into its first major nationalized one.

Under the rescue plan, Continental would sell most of its problem-ridden portfolio to the F.D.I.C., which according to banking experts might have to write off as much as 20 percent of the loans. In return, the F.D.I.C. would assume control of the bank, minus the capital-draining debts. If it turned Continental around, the agency could sell its interest and recoup its investment, as it began to do last year with its shares in the once-shaky First Pennsylvania Corporation.

The arrangement was put together after the agency failed to persuade a half-dozen banks and, reportedly, the Bass family of Fort Worth to play angel. At least initially, it probably wouldn't require any additional cash from the F.D.I.C., which along with 28 commercial banks threw Continental a \$7.5 billion credit lifeline in May.

The big losers would be the owners of 40 million outstanding shares of Continental, who would see their stake shrink to 20 percent, and the bank's top executives, who would probably see their last Continental paycheck.

The rescue may also result in tougher day-to-day supervision of the entire industry, and could spur Congress to reverse field and pass legislation to rein in the recently deregulated lenders. Predicted one banker: "We'll be seeing fallout from Continental for years."

## Limits to Growth, Texas Style

Few American cities are more gungho about growth than Dallas. Last year, it was second only to Los Angeles in building activity, according to a Dun & Bradstreet survey, and construction cranes are a permanent part of the skyline. But many residents have sought checks on unfettered development, which, they complain, has caused acute traffic congestion and disrupted their neighborhoods.

The success of their efforts is a matter of debate. Although the Dallas City Council recently approved zoning changes that give developers less control over what they can build, it spread implementation of those regulations over five years instead of the two that homeowners requested. The Council struck by its timetable last week and also rejected a proposal to limit building heights near residential areas.

Some homeowners said they felt betrayed. "A lot of people are viewing this as a question of whether the city is run by the little guys or by a few big guys," said Councilman Craig Holcomb, an ally of the homeowners.

The Dallas Chamber of Commerce, which had a big hand in designing the new policies, called them "fair and reasonable."

"What the homeowners were calling for would have meant the devastation of the real-estate community in our city," said David Braden, a spokesman for the chamber.

At issue is so-called cumulative zoning, which allows developers flexibility in deciding what to build in a designated area. In some sections of Dallas, a 20-story office tower, for example, can be built on land zoned for a shopping center.

City officials say the changes are a compromise. "I think the citizens are missing the significance of what happened," said Assistant City Manager Jim Reid. "When the issue was first raised last summer, the citizens were saying, 'End cumulative zoning,' and the developers were saying, 'Don't touch it.' Now it's shifted to how and when."

Michael Wright,  
Richard Levine  
and Caroline Rand Herron

## A Correction

Because of an editing error, an article in *The Week in Review* on July 15 incorrectly described the positions of Supreme Court Justices Lewis F. Powell Jr. and John Paul Stevens in a case involving the right to travel to Cuba. Justice Stevens agreed with the majority that travel could be limited by the Administration. Justice Powell dissented.

## Some See the Lance Affair as a Symptom of Staff Problems

## Expanding Mondale's Tight Circle Of Advisers

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

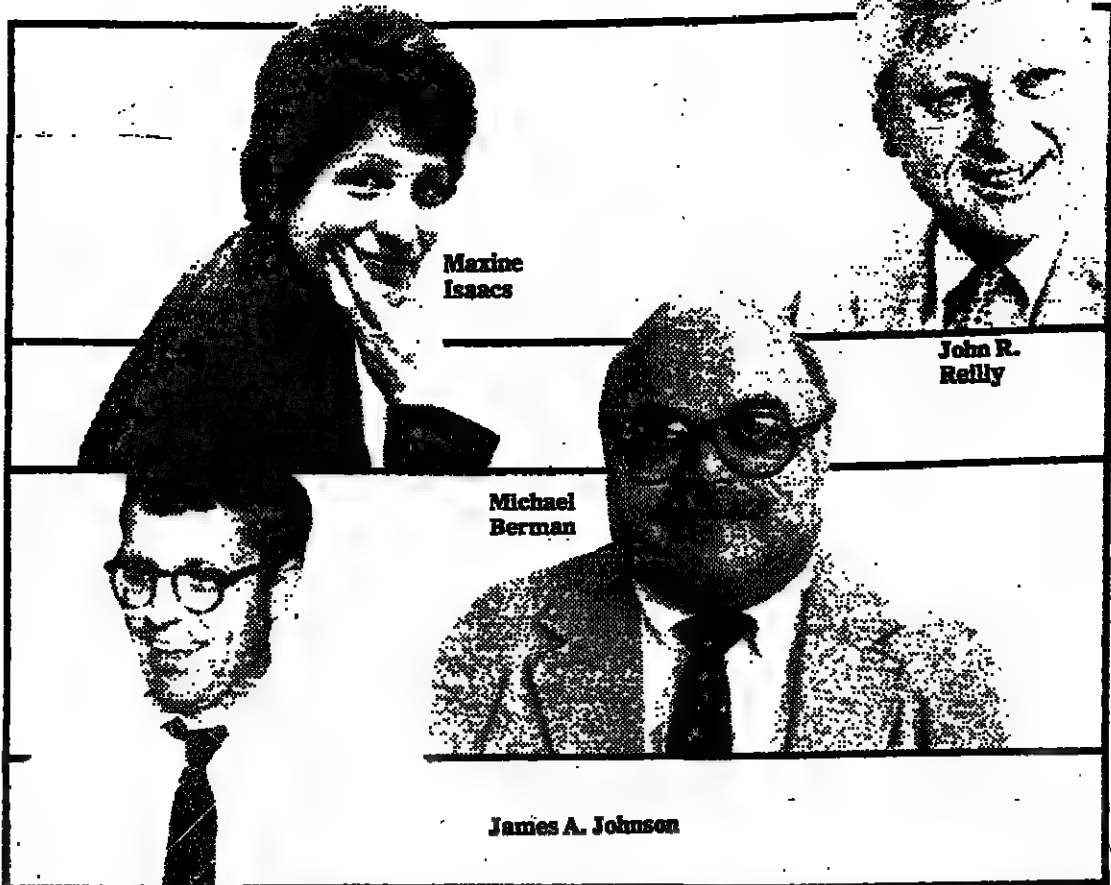
SAN FRANCISCO — In the buoyant aftermath of the Democratic convention, Robert G. Beckel, Walter F. Mondale's campaign manager, said on Friday morning that the campaign organization would seek "the best talent" in the country to work for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket.

By all accounts, one of the campaign organization's highest priorities — and one of its most pointed difficulties — is the expansion of Mr. Mondale's staff. "It's going to be a very tough group to break into," said a Democrat who has known Mr. Mondale for years. "Historically they've always been inward, they've always closed doors."

The tightly knit group of associates, most of them longtime loyalists, last year shaped a dazzling political organization that has been, and continues to be, riven with problems. The most recent glaring example was what even Mr. Mondale's aides acknowledge was an extraordinarily clumsy move last weekend to remove Charles T. Manatt as Democratic national chairman and elevate Bert Lance, the Carter Administration budget director who left Washington in 1977 amid allegations of bank fraud (he was subsequently acquitted of Federal felony charges), to a senior position in the party organization. After a storm of protests among Democrats, Mr. Mondale quickly reversed, and embarrassed himself. But Mr. Lance, apparently prized for his Southern connections, stays on, in a vaguely defined role as general campaign chairman.

To many Democrats, the episode not only underscored doubts about the judgment of the candidate's kitchen cabinet, but also apprehensions over its relative isolation and inflexibility. "It's a classic example of what's wrong with them," said a well-known Democrat. "They travel in a vacuum, they didn't talk to party pros on this one. They just weren't aware of reality."

The Mondale camp's dominant figure is James A. Johnson, the 40-year-old campaign chairman, like Mr. Mondale a Minnesotan of Norwegian descent. Mr. Johnson, who served as Mr. Mondale's executive assistant in the White House, is in some ways a mirror image of the candidate: reserved and orderly, a normally shrewd tactician and organizer, who has been criticized for the Lance misstep and for organizing a campaign that



The New York Times / George Tamm (Isaacs); Gamma-Liaison / Diana Walker (Johnson); Camera 5 / Terry Arthur (Reilly and Berman)

badly underestimated Gary Hart's Presidential drive and Walter Mondale's vulnerabilities. One ranking Democrat, a critic of Mr. Mondale, said, "It's a very corporate, boardroom atmosphere. Sooner or later everything goes up to Johnson."

## Inside the Inner Circle

The other members of Mr. Mondale's circle, who would presumably play key White House roles if he was elected President, are:

• John R. Reilly. Mr. Reilly is a 56-year-old lawyer who runs the Washington office of Winston & Strawn, the Chicago-based law firm that Mr. Mondale joined after leaving office. He is Mr. Mondale's closest friend on the campaign plane and plays several roles: an adviser who tells Mr. Mondale "bad news" or when he has made a poor speech or fumbled in response to a question. Mr. Reilly shuns publicity but deliberately mingles with reporters, picking up intelligence on how the campaign is playing.

• Maxine Isaacs. The 36-year-old press secretary first began working in Mr. Mondale's Senate office more than a decade ago. Miss Isaacs, of Cleveland, sits in on virtually all strategy sessions and shapes Mr. Mondale's relations with newspapers, magazines and television.

• Michael Berman. A 45-year-old Washington lawyer who grew up in Minnesota, Mr. Mondale's oldest confidant in the campaign is a crafty political operative. He handles the candidate's finances and other personal matters and last week was named director of the Democratic National Committee to manage day-to-day operations and serve as liaison with the campaign.

• Robert Beckel. The campaign manager is an outsider to the Mondale staff who in the Carter White House was in charge of Congressional liaison for State Department matters. Mr. Beckel is the campaign's auto-and-bolts man, a former New Yorker whose blunt and feisty tone is a sharp contrast to Mr. Johnson's coolness.

Among the other key members of Mr. Mondale's group are Martin Kaplan, the 33-year-old speechwriter who was the author of Mr. Mondale's widely applauded acceptance address on Thursday night; Peter Hart, the campaign's pollster, and Roy Spence, the campaign's television adviser who originated Mr. Mondale's ads, some of them highly effective, during the campaign, and who produced the 10-minute film about the candidate that was played at the convention before Mr. Mondale made his acceptance speech. Tom Donilon, a 28-year-old deputy campaign manager, played a pivotal role rounding up delegates; the tasks of Paul Tully, a 40-year-old deputy campaign manager, included serving as the Mondale operative on the platform debate.

Mr. Mondale's circle of advisers may expand with Mr. Lance and with Richard Moe, a former chief of staff to Mr. Mondale, in the White House. The campaign has already begun to envelop the staff of Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro, the Vice Presidential candidate. At least three Mondale aides have moved into Mrs. Ferraro's campaign. Their impact was evident last week when the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates appeared at separate rallies and events in San Francisco. The phrases, the themes, the speeches were remarkably similar.

## Pending Measures Would Exempt Many Items

## Little Promise for Weapon Guarantees

By CHARLES MOHR

WASHINGTON — A new law that requires the manufacturers of military weapons to guarantee that their hardware will work is facing a decidedly iffy future.

A batch of amendments that would weaken the law, including its provision that contractors certify that their products can be maintained at a reasonable cost, has been attached to the military authorization bill now pending on Capitol Hill. The House and Senate passed vastly different versions of the measure.

If the two houses can somehow resolve their many differences, the guarantee statute may be left riddled with exemptions. On the other hand, if Congress isn't able to agree on terms of an authorization bill, the law would remain on the books untouched. But then, many authorities believe, there would come questions about how vigorously the Pentagon would enforce it.

The law, first passed in 1983, is toughly worded. A bipartisan coalition in both houses of Congress pushed it through despite the stiff opposition of the Armed Services Committees, traditionally

sympathetic to the needs and complaints of military contractors.

Some military officers supported the law, but strong factions within the Department of Defense were passionate opponents of weapons warranties (the department uses guarantee and warranty as synonyms). Some Pentagon arguments have been difficult for outsiders to follow.

For instance, officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense described the department as a "self-insurer," meaning the military preferred to accept the liability for faulty goods. One reason advanced for that position was that guarantees do not come free and thus would not be "cost effective."

Another argument involved a fairness issue. Because the military procurement bureaucracy has for several decades insisted on getting heavily involved in weapons design, officials argued that a company could not be held accountable for a design that did not meet performance goals.

It was also argued that small companies would find it harder to compete for military contracts because of the presumed inability to insure against the cost of replacing items that did not meet guarantee standards.

Such arguments were scoffed at by the law's sponsors, who included Senator Mark Andrews, Republican of North Dakota, and Representative Mel Levine, Democrat of California.

They and allied Congressional staff experts argued that quality is an implicit requirement in any Government contract and need not result in an add-on cost for guarantees.

Senator Andrews repeatedly said the resistance to guarantees arose from what he called an "incestuous relationship" between the uniformed officers who purchase weapons and the corporations, which often hire the officers after retirement.

Some Pentagon officials argued privately that small businesses were so much more efficient than the big military contractors that guarantee costs would be no problem for them.

However, Senator Andrews changed his position this year and joined with several members of the Armed Services Committee to sponsor significant changes. One would exempt the first 10 percent of a weapon production run from guarantees — a step that critics say would encourage a trend to begin making "technologically immature" systems.

Another change would exempt any contract smaller than \$10 million and any item cheaper than \$100,000 from guarantees. Still another change would permit the Defense Department to designate some performance characteristics as "non-essential." This language has been included in the Senate version of the latest Defense authorization bill. Some Congressional staff aides have said these changes would undercut the guarantee law almost wholly. However, other staff assistants on the House Armed Services Committee have reportedly called for even greater loosening of the language.

One suggestion under consideration is to eliminate all "performance guarantees," which would leave only a requirement that materials and workmanship meet inspection standards on delivery. Another, even more sweeping proposal would eliminate guarantees in any case in which there is a significant Pentagon contribution to a weapon's design.

If a joint conference committee session of the two armed services panels is able to finish work on an authorization bill, there is little doubt that these or even more crippling limitations will be approved. Representative Levine, who has broken with Senator Andrews, has persuaded more than 50 other House members to sign a letter urging resistance to any weakening language and says he would try to block such changes on the House floor.

Meanwhile, the Navy has so strongly supported the concept of firm guarantees that senior Defense Department officials have ordered at least one admiral to keep his opinions on the dispute to himself.

Having said it would enforce the law, which it wants repealed, the Pentagon has demanded guarantee offers in proposed contracts from corporations. And, despite a threat that it would flood the Congress with requests for waivers from the law, apparently only a contract for military compasses, historically so reliable that no guarantee is needed, has been exempted.





# The World

## Israel Votes And Then the Bargaining Starts

Israel's 2.65 million voters will elect a new Parliament tomorrow but putting a Government together may take weeks.

Polls showed the opposition Labor Party ahead of Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir's Likud bloc, weakened by the absence of Menachem Begin, its ailing founder. But the big parties have always had to bargain for the support of splinter groups to build coalitions, and voter sentiment last week seemed to be following the pattern, leaving Labor at least five seats short of the 61 needed for a majority. Likud, which has more allies than Labor among the smaller groups, notably the religious parties it has generously subsidized, could still come up with a winning combination in post-election negotiating. But anticipating defeat, Likud has been pushing a coalition with Labor, which has spurned it.

Likud has kept the economy growing at a brisk 4 percent a year. But the price has been hyperinflation that has reached 400 percent. Anticipating a crackdown, Israelis have been rushing to turn their shekels into cars and black market dollars.

Neither Mr. Shamir nor Shimon Peres, Labor's leader, has gone into great detail about plans for restoring economic health. Likud is talking about cutting defense spending and social benefits for the economically independent. Labor promises to strengthen the economy by ending subsidies for Jewish settlements in parts of the West Bank densely populated by Arabs; reducing Israeli forces in southern Lebanon; freezing Government jobs; and restoring Saturday flights of El Al.

## Reagan's War Over Nicaragua

Calling Nicaragua a "totalitarian dungeon," President Reagan last week led a renewed assault against Congressional critics who have blocked money to C.I.A.-backed insurgents. "Tragically, there is far less freedom in Nicaragua today," he argued, "than there was five years ago." The Somoza family dictatorship was overthrown in 1979 after four decades in power.

Officials said Mr. Reagan's remarks to a White House audience and, next day, to leaders of 13 Caribbean countries were aimed at obtaining restoration of \$21 million for the rebels when Congress returns from recess this week. Democrats are opposed. In his speech accepting the Presidential nomination, Walter F. Mondale said that, if elected, "in my first 100 days, I will stop the illegal war in Nicaragua."

A Government affidavit in Federal District Court, meanwhile, accused officials in Nicaragua of involvement in cocaine trafficking. "Just ridiculous," a Nicaraguan Embassy official said. "They made it up. It's just another part of the Reagan Administration campaign against us."

The Administration also accused Nicaragua of reneging on promises to respect human rights and hold free elections. Preparing for voting on Nov. 4, Nicaragua said it was relaxing 28-month-old restrictions on press criticism and political rallies. But opposition leaders, still threatening a boycott, demanded free access to television and radio. "No person committed to democracy will be taken in by a Soviet-style sham election," Mr. Reagan said.

Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Sandinista presidential candidate, blamed Washington. "United States leaders," he said at ceremonies marking the fifth anniversary of the revolution, "you imposed the emergency on us. Do not be demagogic, cynical and antidemocratic." Officials of 40 governments attended the

celebration, the hosts said. But El Salvador, citing a statement by Mr. Ortega supporting anti-Government Salvadoran guerrillas, stayed away.

El Salvador's President, José Napoleón Duarte, won new support on a tour of Europe, notably the unfreezing of \$18 million in West German aid. He was due in Washington tomorrow to confer with Mr. Reagan at the White House.

## Mitterrand Tries A New Premier

France's Constitution offers the president two ways out of bad situations. Under the Fifth Republic's hybrid system, he can dissolve the National Assembly and call new elections. Or he can simply change the prime minister and cabinet and hope to benefit from a fresh figure at the head of day-to-day government.

No recent president has been in as much trouble as François Mitterrand, who was elected in 1981 on a wave of enthusiasm for his Socialist Party and now has a popularity rating of less than 35 percent. Last week, Mr. Mitterrand replaced Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, whose popularity had dropped even further, with Laurent Fabius, the former Minister of Industry and at 37, the youngest French head of government in this century.

The immediate effect was to drive the Communist Party's four ministers out of the Government. Mr. Fabius has been one of the prime backers for the modernization of French industry, a policy that means cutting jobs. Communist attacks on this and other policies had created such strains as to make it seem only a matter of time before the coalition would collapse. Whether they jumped or were pushed, the Communists are now in more open opposition. A big question was whether they might hurt Mr. Mitterrand through their influence in the labor movement. In the National Assembly, the Government can still count on a Socialist majority, but only until 1988. The new almost all-Socialist Cabinet lost no time trying to mend fences with the public by announcing tax cuts averaging 8 percent in next year's budget.

## Talking Faster With Moscow

Washington and Moscow agreed last week on faster, if not necessarily better, communications. The so-called hot line they have used for 21 years to exchange messages in times of crisis will be upgraded so that messages now sent at 64 words a minute will in the next two years move at triple that speed. The new transmissions can include pictures, such as maps to show disposition of military forces.

President Reagan, under Democratic attack for not talking with Soviet leaders, called the agreement "a modest but positive step" toward reducing the risk of war by "accident, miscalculation or misinterpretation." But in a separate statement, he continued to lay the blame on Moscow for lack of progress elsewhere. He accused the Russians of being unwilling to engage in "concrete negotiations" on their own proposal at the recently adjourned Stockholm conference for a treaty on the nonuse of force. Moscow countered with a charge that Washington was playing a "game of words" and advancing "preconditions" for accepting the Soviet proposal to start talks in Vienna on space weapons.

The Administration has denied setting conditions and an official said "we plan to be in Vienna Sept. 18." Washington has expressed willingness to talk about space weapons but has reserved the right to talk about other arms control measures too.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Glazer

## Verbatim: 'Dream Car' Nightmare

The DeLorean project represents one of the gravest cases of the misuse of public resources to come before us in many years.

The evidence discloses a shocking misappropriation of public and private money, and shows also that Mr. DeLorean's automobile companies received about 77 million pounds of United Kingdom taxpayers' money and lost most of it within four years.

The blame for this lies principally with Mr. DeLorean personally but hardly any of those who dealt with him on behalf of the British taxpayer at a high level can escape substantial blame for their failure to prevent a substantial waste of public money.

A British Parliament committee reporting on help given by Labor and Conservative Governments to John Z. DeLorean for a sports car factory in Northern Ireland that closed in 1982 when Mr. DeLorean was arrested on charges of cocaine dealing.

## One Issue That Draws Deng Out of Retirement

# Hong Kong as Territorial Imperative

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

PEKING — China's leader, Deng Xiaoping, has made a show of withdrawing into semiretirement and leaving the affairs of state and party to his protégés, Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang and party General Secretary Hu Yaobang. But Mr. Deng, who is 80 years old, has shown no inhibitions lately about rebounding into the limelight when the issue of Hong Kong's future arises.

In May, Mr. Deng dismissed as rubbish previous assurances from Chinese officials that China would not garrison troops in Hong Kong after 1997, when Britain's lease over most of the territory expires. Last month, he publicly upbraided three visiting counselors from Hong Kong's unofficial legislative body, who tried to explain that people in Hong Kong lacked confidence in their future after China takes over.

The otherwise reclusive Mr. Deng has emerged to talk to other delegations of Hong Kong businessmen though he has stayed aloof from the Chinese-British talks, the 19th round of which is scheduled to start Tuesday.

Mr. Deng's behavior has posed the latest puzzle in a nation never lacking for enigmas. Why would a statesman who turned down chances to become China's President, Prime Minister and party leader sound so contentious on one issue, particularly since Britain has made clear that it will quit Hong Kong in 1997? Why not leave the pronouncements to a Government spokesman?

## No Closet Democrat

The answer lies partly in Mr. Deng's convictions. His economic pragmatism perpetuates a misconception in the West that he is a closet democrat, steering China out of its Maoist malaise into a more enlightened future. Mr. Deng's bold reforms have benefited the Chinese but no student of his career would attribute his ideas to liberalism.

He joined China's Communist Party six decades ago and served it loyally. When the late chairman, Mao Zedong, drew out his critics in 1957 with the promise to let a hundred flowers bloom, Mr. Deng was delegated to help cut them down in the ensuing antirightist campaign.

He stifled the democratic movement that briefly emerged in the late 1970's after Mao's



Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping

Contact: Chuck Fishman

death. Today, the discussion is confined to the most efficient way to modernize China. Mr. Deng's dogmatism showed when he accused the Hong Kong counselors of succumbing to their unease to a colonialist mentality. "We are not the Manchus, not Chiang Kai-shek and his son, but the People's Republic of China," he declared.

Mr. Deng reflects the fears of his generation of elderly Communists that they will not live to complete China's liberation with the recovery of Taiwan and Hong Kong. President Li Xiannian assured a reunion of old alumni from Canton's Whampoa Military Academy last month that "all of us here hope to see the country's reunification in our remaining years."

Taiwan remains elusively out of grasp but Hong Kong does not and Mr. Deng has personal reason to be anxious about its return. If he suc-

ceeds, he will be known in history for getting back Hong Kong, said a Western European diplomat in Peking, whatever critics may say of his political and economic policies.

The mishandling of Hong Kong would make it even harder for Peking to lure back the alienated Chinese of Taiwan. Mr. Deng has promised that Hong Kong's prosperity and stability will continue undisturbed, yet his talk has given Hong Kong's stock market fresh jitters, fueling suspicions that he would rather have Hong Kong in shambles than concede a point of sovereignty. The three counselors returned home last month feeling that Mr. Deng did not understand why Hong Kong had a confidence problem.

## A Garrison in Hong Kong?

"Deng is an aging peasant revolutionary with very little knowledge of the outside world and no understanding of what makes Hong Kong tick," said a Hong Kong-based Western diplomat. Some outsiders have speculated that Mr. Deng's outspokenness means that hard-liners are forcing him to adopt a tougher stance on Hong Kong. There is no hard evidence of a power struggle, though Mr. Deng may have mentioned stationing Chinese troops in Hong Kong to placate military commanders who dislike the low priority that defense is getting in the modernization drive.

Mr. Deng used that occasion to criticize by name former Foreign Minister Huang Hua and former Defense Minister Geng Biao, who were retired in late 1982. Analysts here could not find when Mr. Huang publicly ever said that troops would be sent to Hong Kong, suggesting some broader clash of interests behind the scenes. The late Liao Chengzhi, as the state counselor responsible for Hong Kong, was in fact the first to assert that Chinese troops would not be billeted there.

According to Mr. Deng, only five people can speak for China on the Hong Kong issue — Prime Minister Zhao, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, Mr. Wu's official spokesman, Mr. Liao's successor Ji Pengfei and himself. The right does not extend to the party chief, Hu Yaobang, who is regarded by some as Mr. Deng's successor.

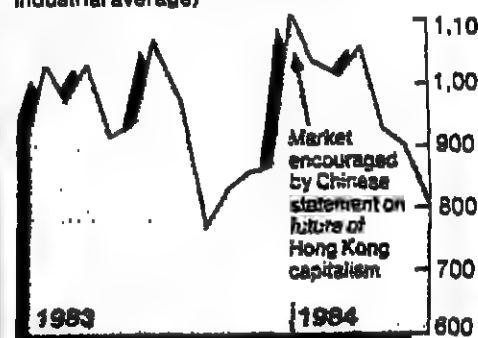
The clearest lesson from all this may be that Mr. Deng still calls the shots when he wants to. And as a Western diplomat in Peking observed, he is not going to share Hong Kong's recovery with anyone.



The Hong Kong stock exchange.

## Hong Kong's stock market

Monthly close of the Hang Seng index (which is roughly comparable to the Dow Jones industrial average)



Source: Sun Hung Kai Securities (U.S.) Inc.

Bygon/Smart Frontline

## New Zealand Shuts Its Ports to Some U.S. Ships

# Nuclear Fleet Raises Hackles on Shore

By DREW MIDDLETON

The unpredictability of the alliances on which the American global naval strategy depends became apparent last week after New Zealand elected a Labor government pledged to barring nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships from the country's waters.

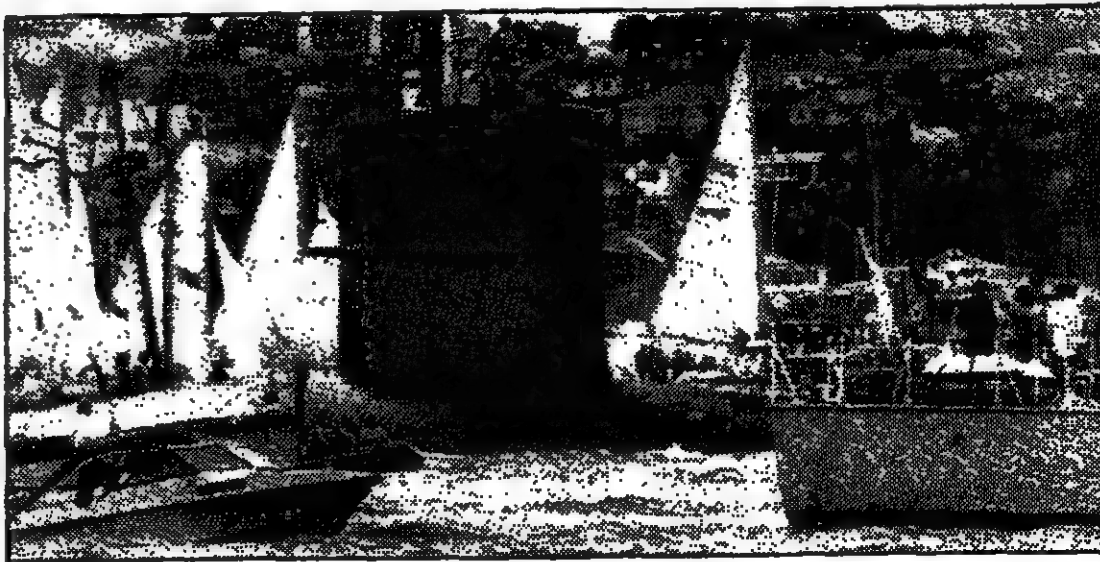
American Navy ships of this type will not venture into New Zealand waters until the middle of next year, under an agreement between Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Prime Minister-elect David Lange. By then, officials in Washington believe, New Zealand will have modified its stand.

The New Zealand position puts at risk the effectiveness of military cooperation in the Anzus (Australia, New Zealand, United States) alliance, which came into being in 1952. Washington considers that this cooperation is critical not only to the two island nations but to the Navy's ability to support operations in the Indian Ocean and most potential flash points in the Persian Gulf and the danger represented by a Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

Periodically the United States has faced other problems over port calls and entry to national waters in the Philippines and Greece. Washington sources note that when a Labor government was elected in Australia it, too, forbade port calls by nuclear-driven or nuclear-armed ships. The ban has since been relaxed and squadrons now call at Sydney, Perth, Brisbane and Melbourne.

There are no permanent American bases in New Zealand and, according to a qualified Washington source, the Pentagon does not seek one. The present American policy is to expect a change in New Zealand's stand that would follow Australia's example. The State Department does not consider Mr. Lange and his party to be radical leftists, and the new Prime Minister made it clear to Mr. Shultz and to the Australians that he would work for a practical solution of the problem. The State Department and the Navy are trying to avoid what a Pentagon source called "hard-nosed tactics" in the hope that the tripartite alliance will survive intact.

The sudden uncertainty in Anzus demonstrated some of the political problems involved in keeping the Navy operating throughout the world. The Navy argues that it must be able to operate freely if it is to counter the expanded Soviet fleet. Host governments in turn are torn between reliance on the Navy for protection and their fear of becoming a battleground for the superpowers because of the presence of that protection. Fear of nuclear accidents is also present.



New Zealand protesters attempting to block the U.S. nuclear-powered submarine Queenfish from approaching Auckland Harbor in March.

Pentagon officials say they understand this problem and are not prepared to pressure reluctant governments for facilities to deploy ships. At the same time, they express hope that those governments recognize the growing threat of Soviet naval power and the American need to establish a deterrent to it.

## Far-Ranging Strategy

The current state of cooperation was described by a Pentagon source as "good." He said, "We are satisfied with the present port situation and are content to let the New Zealand problem work itself out. We have no problems in the Mediterranean, the Sixth Fleet's home, and we believe that ports around the world will continue open to our visits." The Indian Ocean is also of immediate interest to the Navy's strategy. Both the Soviet and American navies deploy squadrons there. The Americans have been welcomed in Sri Lanka, the Seychelles and Mauritius. Mombassa in Kenya is usable and important to the ships of the Indian Ocean force.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon source and other officials said they expected continuing antinuclear demonstrations against ships berthing at Yokosuka, the Navy's main base in Japan. But the problem is not only overseas. They also acknowledged that there might be demonstrations when in the next two or three years a Navy Sur-

face Action Force is based in New York.

Agitation over port visits or entry into national waters could be a restraint on the development of naval strategy in a period when an increasing number of vessels are nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed. Widening American naval deployments are largely a response to the Soviet Navy's new "blue water strategy" which sends Soviet squadrons as far afield as the Caribbean, with a base at Cienfuegos in Cuba, and the South Atlantic and the China Sea. These Russian deployments are in areas where the United States has political, economic and military interests that are safeguarded in peacetime largely by naval deployments.

"The Navy's responsibilities have grown," Secretary of the Navy John F. Lehman said, "both in its role as a war deterrent and in crisis management. The Air Force, of course, can deploy to trouble spots in a crisis but the Navy is in or near those spots all the time."

This increase in global responsibilities is behind the Navy's drive to establish a fleet of 600 ships. With 521 vessels now deployed, the service is approaching that goal.

Distance is the big problem for the other services. The shortest air route from the East Coast to the Persian Gulf is 7,450 miles. Movement of troops by sea from Charleston, S.C., to the Strait of Hormuz is 11,500 miles.



## Military Exercises Have Been Scaled Down but Additional Aid Is Uncertain

# Reagan's Man in Honduras Is Hearing Some Back Talk

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — While American envoys have come and gone in the turbulent Central American countries of Nicaragua and El Salvador, John D. Negroponte has maintained a tight grip on his position as Ambassador to Honduras. Associates say he has brilliantly executed Reagan Administration policy in one of the region's poorest countries. Recently, however, the Hondurans have started to question their close ties with the United States. Mr. Negroponte has come under attack from Honduran officials upset by accusations that they have been lackeys of Washington.

For two years, the Ambassador, who served previously in South Vietnam and Greece, worked easily with Gen. Gustavo Alvarez, commander of the armed forces. Honduras became the base for thousands of C.I.A.-backed Nicaraguan rebels trying to overthrow the Sandinista Government. It also became the site of a center where Americans trained Salvadoran soldiers, and the stage for numerous United States military exercises.

General Alvarez, meanwhile, was acquiring enemies in the armed forces who would ultimately force him out; they portrayed him as arrogant and corrupt and inattentive to national interests. Honduran military officials questioned whether it made sense to train Salvadoran soldiers while the two countries had unresolved border disputes, or to engage in costly military exercises when the economy was failing. They also questioned the Honduran interest in permitting Nicaraguan exile forces to use their terrain in view of the official policy of neutrality.

Resentment toward the American Ambassador was also growing. Many Honduran army and political leaders complained that Mr. Negroponte and General Alvarez were turning the country into a military outpost for the United States. The daily newspaper *La Tribuna* recently assailed the "Olympic disdain" with which, it contended, the Ambassador reacted to Honduran criticism of "Mr.

Negroponte's assiduous participation in formulating our domestic and foreign policy." The United States buildup did not go unnoticed by other Central American leaders. Honduran pride was hurt by ridicule. A Costa Rican official wisecracked to reporters that Honduras was "a prostitute for the United States." That was bad enough, he said, "but did it have to be a cheap prostitute?"

On March 31, the military ousted General Alvarez and relations with the Embassy began to cool. Honduran and American officials report. They said the Ambassador was not informed about General Alvarez's departure until the former commander was already headed for exile in Costa Rica. Col. Omar Zelaya, a member of the army's Supreme Council, said the new command of the armed forces was keeping an "arm's length" relationship with Mr. Negroponte and asking for changes in policies that had been approved under General Alvarez.

### Assessing Mutual Benefits

Mr. Negroponte has been responsive to these complaints, which raises the question of whether the Hondurans had been forced into arrangements they did not feel comfortable with, or just never bothered to drive a harder bargain. More Hondurans are now being taught at the American regional training center. United States military exercises have been scaled down. But it is unclear whether Honduras will get more aid. Mr. Negroponte's view, shared by the Reagan Administration and in Congress, is that present levels are adequate. "What we do here is in their mutual benefit," he said recently. "They receive the second largest amount of economic and military assistance (following El Salvador). These exercises have all been conducted for their mutual benefit." Honduras received \$125 million in economic and military aid this year.

However, the effectiveness of aid is measured not simply in dollars and cents but also in Honduran perceptions. Egos need to be boosted, but Honduran military officials say Mr. Negroponte's ability to smooth ruffled



Ambassador John D. Negroponte

Woodfin Camp / Bob Nicklesberg

feathers has been damaged by his close association with the military buildup. Last week, officials in Washington said relations with Honduras were improving and Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., Chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs, visited the country. Honduran leaders were entertained aboard the carrier *John F. Kennedy*.

The Ambassador's problems are complicated by Honduran officials who criticize the American presence but at the same time look to Washington for direction. One high army official recently complained about a report in a local newspaper that quoted Mr. Negroponte as saying that a series of small military exercises would be held in Honduras. "He has to be smoother diplomatically," the army man said. "We make the decisions in this

country." The comment reflected sensitive feelings, but in fact, the exercises had already been reported. The Ambassador was merely answering a reporter's question.

Moreover, while Honduran officials say they want to speak for themselves, they often refuse to respond to questions about policy. Reporters recently tried for a week to get Honduran officials to speak on the record about the country's policy toward the 12,000-man Nicaraguan exile army that is trying to overthrow the Sandinista Government from its base in Honduras. After waiting fruitlessly for four hours in the anteroom of Gen. Walter López Reyes, the new commander, reporters submitted a list of written questions. His response, made through his secretary, was "ask the Americans."

## Iraqis Await Iran's Long-Delayed Offensive

# Armed to the Teeth, Tired to the Bone

By JOHN KIFNER

BAGHDAD, Iraq — "If Iraq should lose this war," a Western diplomat was saying about the nearly four-year-old conflict with Iran, "it won't be for lack of weapons." Lounging behind sandbagged fortifications in the marshlands where the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers join to become the Shatt al-Arab, the Iraqi Army has assembled a massive amount of military hardware.

With recent big shipments from the Soviet Union, Iraq has a clear preponderance in firepower in this deadlocked war. More than 100,000 Iranians and perhaps 50,000 Iraqis have been killed but the level of fighting is now desultory. While the Iraqis look strong, fighting on their own ground with short supply lines, military observers add the important caveat that these are defensive positions and that since the first days of the war, the Iraqis have been cautious, showing little taste for attacking.

As the war stumbles on, neither side, locked in what an expert once called "a delicate balance of incompetence," seems capable of ending it. Iraq has expressed interest in peace initiatives, but they have foundered on the implacable hatred of Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini for the Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein.

"There is no end to the war, it will just go on," said a diplomat from a nonaligned country. "The Iraqi leadership realized it was a wrong move very soon, that they had made a wrong assessment of the other side's endurance and will to fight." He added, "The situation has changed substantially recently. Iraq seems stronger at the moment. It has internal stability and cohesion (and) has managed to infuse motivation." The last Iranian of-

fensive, in February and March, won a toe-hold on Majnoon Island, an Iraqi oil source, but was halted, partially by mustard gas used in violation of international agreements, with heavy Iranian losses.

A Western military observer estimated that Iran has at the most 90 American-made jet fighters still operational, while Iraq has 150 to 200 Soviet-made MIG-21 fighters, 100 MIG-33's and more than 50 French Mirage F-1's. But although Iraqi pilots were trained to fly in low and fast, striking from close to their targets, they are bombing from 15,000 feet — safer, but highly inaccurate. "If they were willing to take losses, they could sweep the skies," a Western diplomat said. The Iraqis, several diplomats noted, appear to treat the military equipment as status symbols, fearing not so much Iran as being blamed in Baghdad if costly weapons are lost.

### Hitting Defenseless Tankers

Iraq's military is largely modeled on the Soviet Union's, with political commissars attached to army units and little independence for commanders. After the February offensive, diplomatic sources said, two Iraqi corps commanders were dismissed, essentially for trying to avoid responsibility for meeting the attack.

Iraq has declared an "exclusion zone" around the main Iranian oil shipment point at Kharg Island in an effort to harm the Iranian economy and draw Western countries into ending the war. But many of the Kharg pipelines are under water, and important machinery is gravity-fed and difficult to damage. "If they were willing to take the losses, say losing 15 planes out of 90, they could put it out of action. But they are inordinately cautious," a Western diplomat said. Instead, the Iraqis have attacked

defenseless oil tankers, although without sinking any.

Morale in this tightly controlled country, where Iraqis fear to talk to foreigners, or, indeed to other Iraqis, is difficult to measure. In Baghdad, there is little apparent feeling that there is a war on. Food is in good supply. War communiqués do not mention casualties, although a martyrs' monument is said to list the dead in gold letters made from jewelry donated by patriotic families. The public is barred from the monument by armed guards. The awarding of medals by President Hussein is a standard feature of the evening television news.

The next move is probably in the hands of Iran. Washington has been reporting for weeks, presumably from satellite photographs, that Iranian forces are massing for an assault. "Our forces are poised to repulse the offensive," Maj. Gen. Maher Abdul Raheid, an Iraqi corps commander, said last month. "We have enough weapons to wipe out two million Iranians."

In a recent Friday prayer sermon, Hojatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of Iran's Parliament, appeared to hint at delay. "If we do choose to launch an offensive, we would have taken several factors into consideration," he said. "These factors include assessing our capabilities, those of the enemy, the target of the attack, political considerations and the objective of the offensive."

"Ultimately, the decision on launching an offensive will rest on whether it will be successful," he added. "Therefore the criminal Iraqi regime, its superpower supporters, and the Zionist-imperialist media should know that they can broadcast all the false rumors they want but they will not influence the development and implementation of the plans of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic fighters."



Iraqi soldier at basic training camp in Baghdad.

Magnum / Sephraj Salgado Jr.

## Crime Is Down, Power Plants Are Humming and Bumper Crops of Coffee and Cocoa Are Expected

# How the Ivory Coast Picked Itself Off the Canvas

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — To those who know Africa, the symptoms that the Ivory Coast was showing looked depressingly familiar.

In Abidjan, crime seemed out of control. People became afraid to go out at night. Many armed themselves or installed iron grills in their homes.

Then the electricity failures began. The Ivorian middle class, by far the largest in West Africa, suddenly found that the air conditioners, washing machines and television sets they had scrimped to acquire now had only decorative value. Villages that had recently been electrified — about half the Ivory Coast's rural areas receive current, a very high proportion by African standards — were plunged into darkness.

Factories were forced to cut production and workers had to be laid off. Restaurants either imported expensive diesel generators or closed their doors. Service station attendants pumped gas by hand for drivers who then played bumper-car on streets with no traffic signals.

The lawlessness and the failing lights were not the only problems. There were also foreign debts that could not be paid, rains that refused to fall and crops that would not grow.

It all seemed to add up to the end of the vaunted Ivorian miracle — a generation of postcolonial progress unmatched by any other nation in tropical Africa — and the beginning of a long slide toward the poverty and disintegration that so many of the Ivory Coast's neighbors are experiencing.

In recent months, however, such deterioration has become less certain. Burglaries and muggings still occur but there is a strong sense, if little statistical proof, that the crime rate has dropped sharply. Electricity is still far from reliable but few neighborhoods now suffer prolonged power failures on a regular basis. \$1.2 billion in foreign debt is being rescheduled, rain has fallen and crop prices have risen.

If complete confidence has not yet returned, at least pessimism no longer seems rampant. "I think we may have come through the crisis," said a businessman. "It feels as if the fever has broken."

Last October concern about safety had become so intense that Mr. Houphouët-Boigny pledged publicly to take charge of the problem. "In five months," he said, "you will hear no more talk of banditry in the Ivory Coast." The French, Lebanese and other expatriate communities

donated vehicles, radios and weapons to the ill-equipped police. More important, according to Western diplomats and Ivorians, French anti-gang brigades were dispatched. Accompanied by local law enforcement officials whom they trained, they made extensive sweeps through Abidjan's shantytowns. Thousands of people were detained for up to three days at a stretch as part of a hunt for gangs composed mainly of immigrants from such impoverished neighboring countries as Upper Volta, Ghana and Guinea.

### A Land of Opportunity

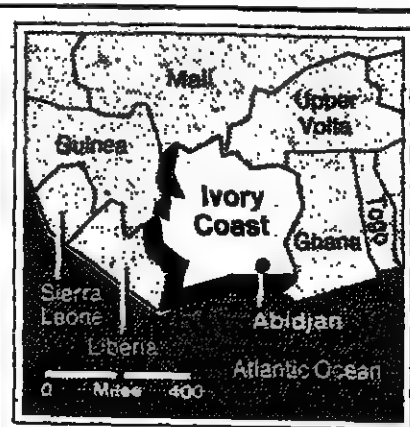
The Ivory Coast's population of close to nine million includes about two million aliens. About half of Abidjan's 1.5 million residents are foreign born. These immigrants had viewed the Ivory Coast as a land of opportunity. But when the economy faltered many who had come to work as cab drivers, waiters, houseboys, watchmen or farm laborers faced diminishing demand for their labor and turned to crime.

"It had gotten to the point where they were going back home just to recruit new gang members," an Ivorian official said. "They saw the Ivory Coast as what you might call an easy mark." In recent months, however, there has been much less talk of banditry.

The electricity shortage was brought about by the prolonged drought, which so reduced the water level in the dams that there wasn't enough to power the hydroelectric generators, the source of 90 percent of the country's energy. In March, however, four 25-megawatt gas turbines, imported from France, began to produce current. The generators cost \$22 million, but the deal included 100 percent financing at favorable rates.

In other areas, there have been encouraging signs. Agricultural experts now predict that the coming coffee and cocoa crops, a vital source of foreign exchange, will be among the best in recent seasons. This year, the Government expects to be able to supply more than 80 percent of its oil needs from domestic production.

The greatest concern in the Ivory Coast remains what it has been for years: the question of who will take over after Mr. Houphouët-Boigny passes from the scene. The President is believed to be at least 70 years old. He has yet to designate a successor and there is no clear mechanism for one to be chosen. The country shares borders with five countries, every one of them ruled by military regimes. A growing number of people fear that a sudden power vacuum here could lead to the same outcome.



Harvesting coffee in Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Downtown Abidjan, a city once plagued by crime.

Barry Goldberg



# Hershey Bites Off New Markets

Candy is dandy, it thinks. But pasta and restaurants now have a key place in the mix.

By N.R. KLEINFELD

HERSHEY, Pa. THERE'S no mistaking that this is Chocolate Town, U.S.A. Street lamps on Chocolate Avenue, the main thoroughfare, are shaped like Hershey Kisses. At the Hotel Hershey or the Hershey Lodge, guests are handed a room key and a Hershey bar, and each evening, two Hershey Kisses are left on night stands. Then, of course, there's the smell. The unmistakable, overpowering aroma of chocolate is just about everywhere.

No wonder. The Hershey Foods Corporation is king here. Hershey bars built the town and Hershey bars still spark its economy. "Sometimes," one long-time resident noted, "you have to wonder if the streets are paved with chocolate. I have the suspicion that some of the people are made of chocolate."

There seems to be an other-worldly calm about Chocolate Town. But the outer peace belies considerable shifts in emphasis at the candy empire spawned by Milton S. Hershey nearly a century ago. A key spur of growth for Hershey these days is its Friendly Ice Cream parlors. Hershey is into pasta, too; in fact, only C.F. Mueller makes more macaroni than Hershey. And candy tastes have shifted. Reese's Peanut Butter Cups, not the famous Hershey bars, are now the company's best seller, and new sweets containing walnuts and granola are mounting their own challenge. The most disquieting change of all for this town, though, is the fact that Hershey isn't even king of candy land anymore. Mars, the other superpower of candy bars, sells more candy than Hershey.

The people who run Hershey today think differently than Milton Hershey did. Richard Zimmerman, the presi-



Richard A. Zimmerman, president and chief executive

the Extra-Terrestrial." Last year, Hershey made a promising entry into the packaged beverage market with premixed chocolate milk.

In the last five years, new products have surged from 7 percent of the chocolate company's sales to nearly 20 percent. Jerry Prescott, publisher of the DEBS Report, says that Skor is already in 23d place among candy bars, and that Take Five, in less than a year of regional sales, is doing well. Hershey's one notable flop was a cake-mix topping called Frosting that was dumped last year. Also, Whatchamacallit, a chocolate-coated rice bar introduced five years ago, has been losing its momentum.

Still, Mr. Zimmerman expects to beat last year's record results of \$100.1 million in income and \$1.7 billion in sales, but he does not say by how much.

And Wall Street has responded favorably to the company's move away from chocolate and into new markets. Hershey stock, which traded as low as \$8.625 in 1979, now trades around \$34 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Hershey, at least, is feeling better than it did in 1976, when, in candy sales through food stores, it lagged a whopping 14 market share points behind Mars. Now the gap is smaller — Mars, for example, holds about 39 percent of the total candy bar market, ahead of Hershey's 35 percent — and Hershey people talk of someday overtaking their foe.

One of the reasons Mars steamrolled over Hershey had to do with advertising. In its latest foray, Mars is spending millions, jousting Snickers and M&M's, as the official snack foods of the Olympic Games. Hershey, by contrast, never ran an ad in its first 66 years. It didn't even have a marketing department until 1967. Milton Hershey didn't believe in ads; he felt it was enough to deliver quality. Moreover, the huge chocolate factory in Hershey was open to visitors and some 10 million people a year wandered through it. (The plant tour was stopped in 1973, when Hershey built Chocolate World for tourists.) In 1970, Hershey saw how successful Mars had become and started advertising. In the last few years, ad dollars have started to flow.

"Hershey has increased its marketing and advertising pretty significantly recently," said Len Teitelbaum, an analyst who follows Hershey at Merrill Lynch. "They realize that they have to play the game and get their name before the public."

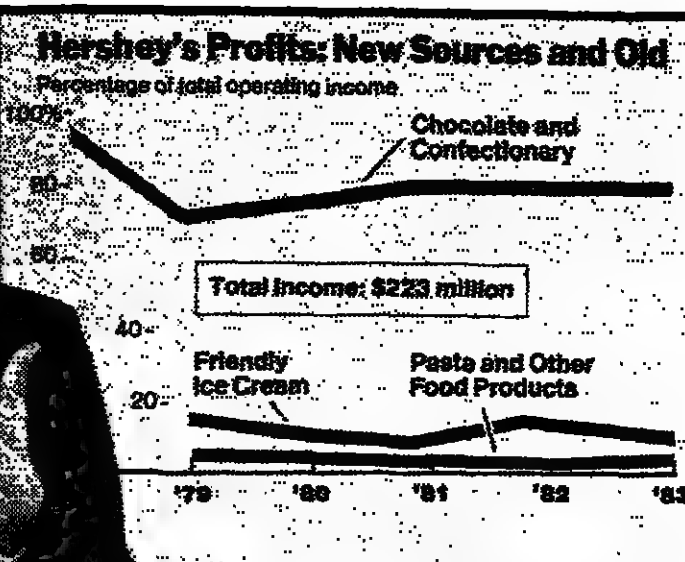
Ads matter because a precept in the candy world is that there is no brand loyalty. Hershey people like to point out that candy is not like cigarettes. Few people will walk a mile for a Milky Way if there's a Mr. Goodbar down the block. So what Hershey hopes for is to get its candies onto what it calls a consumer's "menu," a roster of 10 or 12 candies that the person likes enough to buy. "All the things on the menu are acceptable to you," Mr. Zimmerman explained. "But when it comes time to buy, it's who reinforced you last and most effectively that you're going to buy."

A lot of things are peculiar about Hershey. What other major company, for example, has an orphanage as its major shareholder? Milton and Catherine Hershey were unable to have children, so in 1939 Mr. Hershey founded the Milton Hershey School for orphan boys. (Girls have since been admitted.) In 1918, he donated the entire business to the school. The company sold about 20 percent of its stock to the public in 1927, but the orphanage, through the Hershey Trust, still owns 50.1 percent of the corporation. Dividends from Hershey stock are its biggest source of income.

One should not think, however, that the Hershey School, given its connections, believes that it owes its graduates more than a good education. Hershey Foods prefers not to hire the school's graduates. That, it reasons, would give them the impression that life is too easy.

But that is not to say that an orphan could not somehow make it big at the chocolate factory. William Dearden was born in Philadelphia in 1923. His mother died when he was 12. For the next nine months, his father tried to take care of him, but it was during the Depression and he was unable to find work. In 1935, the elder Mr. Dearden sent his son to the Milton Hershey School.

A few years later, he joined the chocolate company. He did well. In 1976 he became vice chairman and chief executive officer. Now he is chairman. He has risen to the top of the chocolate world. Milton Hershey couldn't have planned it better.



central Pennsylvania, about 15 miles from Harrisburg, the town owes virtually everything in it to one man.

Mr. Hershey used to liken the company, the town and its 10,000 inhabitants to a large farm, with him as the owner. If residents wanted something — like a bank — they asked him and he built it. Among other things, he started two hotels — Hotel Hershey and the Hershey Lodge — an airport, a sports arena, a half-dozen golf courses, an amusement park, a zoo, a huge public garden, a monorail and a professional hockey team, the Hershey Bears, which locals often call the Hershey Bars.

Hershey's corporate headquarters today are contained in Highpoint, a

Candy is still about 86 percent of Hershey's sales and 80 percent of profits. Friendly accounts for 22 percent of sales and 18 percent of profits. Ten percent of sales — and 2 percent of profits — come from pasta and other ventures such as its troubled Cory Food Services, which leases and services coffee brewers to businesses, and has been muddling along in the last few years.

Mr. Zimmerman wants to add more — he thinks Hershey can sell anything you might find in a food store — but he doesn't see chocolate falling below 50 percent of sales.

Indeed, despite operating in a world that has an aging population with fewer sweet teeth, Hershey is finding surprising life in candy. In number of bars sold, candy is growing only 1 or 2 percent a year, and consumption is down from the good-eating days. In the late 1960's, candy



dent and chief executive, says his ambition is to help Hershey "to become a major diversified food concern." He gets edgy when he thinks about all those vats of chocolate that Hershey is processing at its candy factory down the street from headquarters. Chocolate, after all, comes from cocoa beans — and their price is about as predictable as the weather.

"It's also all of your eggs in one basket," says Mr. Zimmerman. "I know of nothing that is a health problem in chocolate, despite all sorts of claims. But suppose there would be a threat to the business. We know of no threat, but we're going to diversify."

Not that Hershey has had its fill of the dark brown stuff that made it famous. Hershey has concocted a blizzard of new bars — though with less chocolate than the old candy — at the same time that it has discovered surprising vitality in some of its warhorses. Hershey Kisses, which have been around since 1907, are selling better now than they have in decades.

From early on, Milton Hershey wanted to make candy. He just couldn't seem to make a go of it. His education ended at fourth grade. As a teenager, he worked as an apprentice to a confectioner in Lancaster, Pa., near here. When he was 19, he set out on his own to make penny candy in Philadelphia. He went bust. He failed in Chicago making caramels. He failed in New York. But he had spunk. He gave it another whirl and finally had some success back in Lancaster, where he started the Lancaster Caramel Company, which, by 1894, boasted the world's largest caramel factory.

When he went to the World's Exposition in Chicago in 1893, however, he got a peek at some chocolate-making equipment. A light bulb went on. At that time, only the rich enjoyed chocolate and it was Mr. Hershey's conviction that the country was ready for a cheap candy bar. He thought caramels were just a fad, but chocolate, because of its rich taste, had to be big. In 1894, he turned out the first Hershey bar, which was made of solid chocolate and sold for a nickel.

In 1904, he built a factory in the middle of cornfields in Derry Church, Pa., now called Hershey, not far from where he was born. Today the plant remains the world's biggest chocolate factory.

Milton Hershey built more than a company. He built an odd little town. Nestled in the lush dairy country of

stately mansion built in 1908 as the residence of Milton and Catherine Hershey. It overlooks the Hershey Country Club and perches close enough to some of the holes that an errant ball could, without too much difficulty, find itself on a corporate officer's desk. At headquarters, and at the nearby chocolate factory, there are bowls of candy that employees are free to — and do — gobble up; the one rule is that goodies must be eaten on the premises. People seem to enjoy working at Hershey. All the corporate officers, when they're in town, gather for lunch at a big round table in Highpoint's dining room, passing the time regaling each other with stories and cracking jokes.

In 1973, the price of cocoa beans skyrocketed and changed life in Hershey. Earnings fell 30 percent. Another sharp run-up in prices jolted the company in 1976 and 1977. By 1976, a grand strategic plan was fashioned. Diversification was the message.

Hershey was already in the pasta business, but began to add companies to its stake. Now it makes the San Giorgio, Delmonico, Prociocio-Rossi and Skinner brands. Its big plunge was its purchase of the Friendly Ice Cream Corporation in 1979 for \$164 million. Since then, Hershey has encouraged Friendly, a chain of family restaurants started in 1935 by two brothers, to expand from its North-east and Middle West settings. Next year, for example, it plans to move into Florida. It has been adding 40 or 50 restaurants a year to the network, which now totals 680 restaurants.

"We have tried to strengthen the conviction of what we want Friendly to be," Mr. Zimmerman said. "Friendly has something special: the fourth meal. Everyone else has breakfast, lunch and dinner. We have the snack portion. We do a lot of business after eight o'clock at night, and it's not hamburgers, it's ice cream." Indeed, its ice cream and dessert menu is a thing unto itself, with numerous choices tailored to America's sweet tooth. Hershey has also dished up sandwiches for Friendly containing Hershey offerings. And Friendly restaurants now offer Hershey candies — and only Hershey candies — at checkout counters.

# The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

## Continental Rescue Is On the Horizon

Continental Rescue. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's plan to take over about 80 percent of the Continental Illinois National Bank is a dramatic and somewhat drastic step. Under the rescue plan, as outlined by those close to the situation, the F.D.I.C. would assume Continental's problem loans and would allow the rest of Continental to operate as a "clean" bank, with a new head to be selected by the F.D.I.C., but with little stockholder equity.

The Government's inability to find a private buyer for Continental is being taken as an indication of the poor shape of Continental — indeed, of the banking industry in general. Even a slimmer Continental was not attractive to other banks, with their own problems from excess loans to developing countries and an erosion and repositioning as other businesses offer financial services.

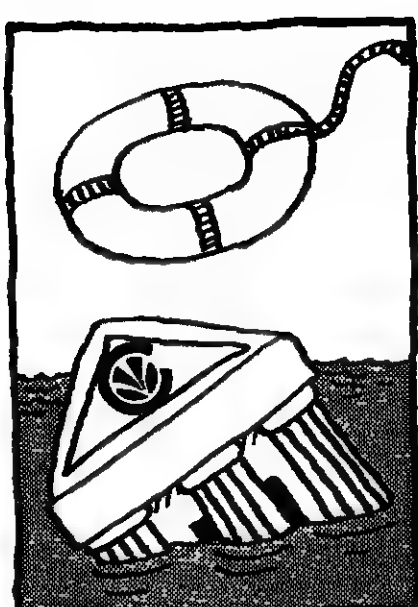
Occidental Petroleum paid a premium to buy back David Murdoch's 5 percent stake. Mr. Murdoch received about \$12 a share more than the going price — a total of about \$194 million. And Mr. Murdoch retained a stake in Occidental with preferred shares. Mr. Murdoch, who had indicated that he wanted a greater say in running the company, apparently was getting on the nerves of some people at Occidental, particularly those of Armand Hammer, the chairman.

Another Murdoch Moves. Rupert Murdoch, the publisher, says he wants to buy 50.1 percent of St. Regis for \$32 a share, but only if the St. Regis board goes along. Some analysts are convinced that Mr. Murdoch, who just a few weeks ago insisted he had no designs on the paper company, will try an unfriendly takeover if his overtures are rejected. St. Regis wants to remain independent, and has fought off previous takeover bids. But it is likely to succumb this time — if not to Mr. Murdoch, then to a friendlier suitor.

And Still Growing. The strength and stamina of the economy continue to surprise and worry economists, who generally feel this recovery is not acting as it should. The latest surprise was the more than \$10 billion in installment credit taken on in May by purchase-hungry consumers, more than twice the April rise. Capacity utilization rose two-tenths of a point, to 81.7 percent. Business inventories gained nine-tenths of a point, while sales surged 1.6 percent. Personal income surged eight-tenths of 1 percent in June, but spending rose only two-tenths.

Housing starts rose 5.3 percent, but only because of a huge surge in the condominium and rental segments. Single-family homes, often the bread and butter of the industry, fell 7.2 percent, largely because of increasing interest rates. Building in June was at an annual rate of 1.9 million units.

It's Profits Time. Chrysler set another earnings record in the second quarter by posting net income of



\$802.9 million, more than any full year in its history. A.T.&T. had a net of \$455 million, a pleasant surprise to pessimistic analysts. GTE gained 18.4 percent, to \$273.1 million. Coleco, still facing video game and computer troubles, fell 44 percent, to \$5.1 million. Alcoa's profits tripled, to \$112.8 million. Continental Group, about to be acquired by Kiewit-Murdoch, was flat.

Bank Earnings. Loans to Argentina that are past due reduced earnings at Citicorp by \$11 million, and its net fell 1.9 percent, to \$206 million. Chase Manhattan's earnings were reduced by \$13 million because of Argentine loans, and it ended up with a 14.3 percent drop in net, to \$90 million. J. P. Morgan fell 9.8 percent.

The week was less than sparkling for the stock market, which had two bad days, two moderate days and one flat one. The Dow Jones industrial average ended the week at 1,101.37, down 8.50.

Credit markets, coming off one of their best weeks, were firm, with long-term bonds posting the best gains. The markets had little reaction to the announcement of a \$1.7 billion rise in the basic money supply.

Penn Square Charges. A former senior vice president of the failed Penn Square Bank became the first bank executive to be criminally charged as a result of the failure of the bank under a mountain of bad energy loans. The executive, William G. Patterson, was indicted on charges of misapplication of bank funds, wire fraud and falsifying bank records.

The chairman and chief executive of Michigan National resigned at the board's request in light of investigations into the bank's involvement with Penn Square.

All Night Long. The Big Board and American Stock Exchange are thinking about allowing trading around the clock to reflect the internationalization of the stock markets. The move would divert some of the business from the so-called third markets, where stocks are traded off the exchanges.

Nuclear Notes. The Tennessee Valley Authority wants to abandon four nuclear reactors, saying demand for electricity no longer justifies the cost.

### The New York Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 20, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
AT&T	9,881,800	18 1/2	+ 1/4
ITT Co	7,546,800	23 3/4	+ 1/4
Unocal	6,753,800	37 1/2	+ 1/4
St Regis	5,595,700	42 1/2	+ 1/4
IBM	4,303,800	108 1/2	+ 1/4
Ford Mot	4,246,800	38 1/2	+ 1/4
Chrysler	3,822,700	28 1/2	+ 1/4
Revlon	3,799,900	39 1/2	+ 1/4
Con't Int	3,719,800	3 1/2	+ 1/4
Exxon	3,685,000	41	+ 1/4
Gen Mot	3,419,900	67 1/2	+ 1/4
Disney	3,270,700	52 1/2	+ 1/4
FTM Inc	3,078,700	16 1/2	+ 1/4
LTV	3,032,100	10 1/2	+ 1/4
TWA	2,897,200	9 1/2	+ 1/4

#### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	750	784
Declines	1,210	1,189
Total Issues	2,213	2,233
New Highs	28	33
New Lows	333	329

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	397,267,310	12,538,851,579
Same Per. 1983	423,149,153	12,247,382,085

#### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Change
New York Stock Exchange	103.2	101.0	101.1	-1.12
Transp	76.5	74.3	74.4	-2.39
Util	44.5	43.9	44.2	+0.21
Finance	79.4	77.5	77.5	-1.69
Composite	87.8	86.0	86.2	-0.87

#### Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	173.4	169.4	170.0	-1.34
20 Transp	122.5	118.0	118.7	-3.29
40 Util	65.7	64.5	64.7	+0.08
40 Financial	14.7	14.1	14.2	-0.49
500 Stocks	152.6	149.0	149.6	-1.33

#### Dow Jones

30 Indust	1128.5	1092.4	1101.3	-8.50
20 Transp	468.1	447.3	451.7	-1.52
15 Util	127.7	122.8	123.7	-2.07
65 Comb	438.3	422.8	426.4	-5.84

#### The American Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 20, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Wang	1,270,300	25 1/2	+ 1/4
TIE	1,118,100	10 1/2	+ 1/4
ComdrC	807,600	1 1/2	+ 1/4
Dome Pet	768,600	14 1/2	+ 1/4
Ranebg	761,900	14 1/2	+ 1/4
Ni Patent	663,500	21 1/2	+ 2 1/4
Andahi	528,500	10 1/2	+ 1/4
Pet Low	309,900	3 1/2	+ 1/4
Hellon	279,000	9 1/2	- 1/4
Sprkm	271,700	11 1/2	+ 3 1/4

#### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	308	285
Declines	438	444
Total Issues	869	908
New Highs	22	19
New Lows	106	134

#### VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	24,700,685	820,241,640
Same Per. 1983	38,950,180	1,318,616,589



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
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## Democrats, Democrats and Plutocrats

Two words echoed from the San Francisco convention last week: fairness and values. And what they mean this election year is that the Democrats want both their parties back.

George Wallace had sent up warnings as long ago as 1972. "Once the Democratic Party reflected true expressions of the rank-and-file citizens," he wrote. "They were its heart, the bulk of its strength and vitality." But then it "became the party of the so-called intelligentsia and lost contact with the working man and the businessman."

Many Democrats dismissed such talk as racism, especially after Jimmy Carter's victory in 1976. But then Ronald Reagan ate their lunch in '80, by reaching out to win the votes of many traditional Democrats. He also won his opponents' attention.

Now the Democrats understand, as they showed in Mario Cuomo's keynote eloquence. Between the extremes of rich and poor, he said, "is the heart of our constituency, the middle class, the people not rich enough to be worry-free but not poor enough to be on welfare." They showed it in Walter Mondale's acceptance: "I heard you," he told the defectors of 1980. "And our party heard you."

He and Geraldine Ferraro have set out to reclaim those lost Democrats by showing Ronald Reagan to be someone who strokes the rich, while they stand for ordinary people who play by the rules. Fairness. Values.

To Democrats, fairness has, over the years, meant Fairness Down: concern for the poor and social welfare programs. That concern reached its apogee in 1972 when George McGovern proposed a "demo grant" to guarantee every American \$1,000 a year. The idea was instantly shouted down, even by Democrats. But less extreme concern for social welfare remained at the heart of the party's program. Social conscience endures this year — but it's not emphasized.

What the Democrats are focused on now is Fairness Up — that if people work hard and play by the

rules they will have a fair chance to get ahead. Also, the enemy is not down, chiseling welfare and defrauding food stamps, but up, chiseling taxes and favoring plutocrats.

Mr. Mondale says the rules are rigged. "What we have today is a government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich." Mrs. Ferraro says "it isn't right" that the share of taxes paid by individuals is going up but the share paid by large corporations is going down. "We're going to make the rules of American life work fairly for all Americans again."

Hyperbole, to be sure, but slogans with clear policy implications when the time comes, for example, to raise taxes and cut subsidies. The same determination to reclaim the middle ground pervades the 1984 Democratic platform. It's windy and graceless. But it's centrist, a far cry from the 1972 party and program that were mocked for the "three A's": acid, abortion and amnesty. This platform condemns marijuana abuse. Instead of new social programs, it calls for "restraining domestic expenditures." One must search to find discussion of welfare and food aid.

Values, the other key word, denotes a related bundle of attitudes about flag, family, neighborhood, loyalty, decency. Geraldine Ferraro conveys a double appeal. As a woman, she projected electricity through the convention. As a child of immigrants who worked her way through school and a prosecutor who put her share of criminals in jail, she also personifies those values.

The fairness tactic, running against plutocrats, may backfire. Ordinary people generally do not hate the rich but aspire to be like them. They may be more likely to draw the line between themselves and the people below rather than those above.

But the appeal to values can't be wrong. They are not just the values of disaffected Democrats. They are everyone's values. If Candidates Mondale and Ferraro can identify with them, they'll have both their parties back and make a race of it yet.

## Make the Voter Drive Bipartisan

Before he went to stir Democratic fervor in San Francisco, New York's Governor Cuomo stirred some Republican ire in Albany. He ordered state employees to help get out the vote this year. The Republicans have taken the Governor to court, charging that he violated the state Constitution's mandate for bipartisan voter registration.

Republicans can be forgiven for perceiving the order as the work of Cuomo the political rally master rather than Cuomo the good-government specialist. High-minded though it may be to enlarge New York's electorate, the executive order raises reasonable suspicion of partisanship that it cannot assuage by merely decreeing "strict neutrality" in the voter drive.

The order goes well beyond making mail registration forms available at more state offices. It enlists agencies like Motor Vehicles, Social Services and Workers' Compensation, and their staffs, to ex-

plain the forms and help applicants fill them out. A task force of high state officials would coordinate the drive.

The courts must say whether a governor has such recruitment power without specific authority from the Legislature. But even if he has the power, Mr. Cuomo might have more prudently consulted with leaders of both parties and perhaps obtained their specific legislative blessing.

Given the potential for partisan abuse, bipartisan agreement about the program's scope seems still useful and obtainable. Perhaps, for example, the Republicans' belated suggestion of sending out registration forms with tax mailings and other state correspondence is preferable to using some state offices and personnel. However the court contest is resolved, both parties have a duty to develop a plan that does indeed get out the vote, neutrally and with respect for voters' privacy.

## The Gun Collector

According to his neighbors and co-workers, James Oliver Huberty didn't like children, Mexicans or the United States. One of the few things he did like was his gun collection.

Last week, Mr. Huberty decided to put his collection to work. He loaded three guns, slung bags of ammunition over his shoulder, marched into a McDonald's restaurant and blazed away at men, women, children, even an eight-month-old baby. Before a sharpshooter could tell him, Mr. Huberty had murdered 21 people and wounded 19.

What demons drove him may never be known. That he could so easily assemble an arsenal, however, demonstrates a larger madness afflicting American society.

Mr. Huberty owned a 9-millimeter automatic pistol, a 12-gauge shotgun and a 9-millimeter Uzi semiautomatic rifle. What can possibly justify so

much firepower in private hands? The Uzi is the Israeli assault rifle favored by SWAT teams, terrorists, drug smugglers and paramilitary groups. It may be sold here only if modified for semiautomatic use. But a collector can easily turn it back into a savagely effective machine gun.

Studies show that guns at home inflict much more damage than they provide protection. They are most often fired accidentally, seized on to settle family disputes or used to commit suicide.

Curbing the possession of guns and ammunition might inconvenience hobbyists or sportsmen. But Mr. Huberty has shown how concern for their convenience puts innocent lives at risk. America has now decided to save thousands of lives on the highways by inconveniencing millions of young people who like a drink. The case for limiting everyone's access to guns is at least as great.

### Topics

## Gifts from the Heavens

### Wet Spell

By midsummer New York's trees and flowers have started losing their battle with the heat. But not in this year of the deluge. Never have window boxes sported healthier petunias, or vacant lots a stronger stand of weeds. Ajanthus have reached the height of palms, and there's no stopping the honeysuckle. Fireflies, which do not like parched landscapes, are flourishing.

It's not necessary, then, to leave town to find the country: it's been creeping up on New Yorkers for months. But the weather has not only changed the city, it appears to have changed our ways.

Because sudden showers appear to be as inevitable for us as for a Dubliner, no one even bothers with an "Oh, no." Instead the rain is greeted with

delight. "Ah," we say, "that cleared the air." And evenings that end without a gentle spatter of drops to send us off to sleep now seem like dinner without dessert.

### The Eagle Has Landed

A baby bald eagle whose photograph was published in this newspaper recently didn't look like much. One of 18 flown from Alaska to be fruitful and multiply in New York State, it was small, sparsely feathered, and seemed cranky rather than fierce. Certainly it didn't resemble the bird on the back of the 25-cent piece, whose wings span the coin and claws are firmly planted on a branch.

We've seen variations of that eagle in paintings, on quilts, flags and plates, over doorways and, memora-

bly, guarding corners of a house built soon after Congress proclaimed the bird our national symbol in 1782. But we've never seen the real thing — either scrawny, as in the photograph, or splendid, as on the coin.

Small wonder. By the 1960's, bald eagles in the lower 48 states numbered only 6,000. In New York there were only two. But since 1976 the state has released 81 eagles. Some starve, some are shot, some are snared by power lines, but the state hopes for 40 breeding pairs by 1990.

We may be no more likely to see them than we did that lone pair of the 60's. Our eyes don't easily reach to their air lanes, and we don't often find ourselves in the areas over which they swoop and soar and vocalize. But visible or not, they are there — and just knowing of their renewed presence in the American sky is a joy.

### Letters

## Deficits: What's Fair to Future Generations?

To the Editor:

Our relatively large Federal budget deficits pose an interesting ethical issue. Are we, by incurring such deficits, enhancing our own standards of living at the expense of future generations, and, if so, is it a fair and equitable policy? The answer to this seemingly simple question is not easy.

First, it is important to realize that on the Federal level there are no clear-cut distinctions between operating budget items and capital budget items. Many services rendered by the Government could be, at least in part, viewed as investments rather than consumption. Examples abound. Improvements in education and nutrition spurred by Government activities are not goods exclusively bestowed on a current generation. They are likely to benefit future generations as well. The same is true of development of the infrastructure and subsidization of research and development.

It follows that certain Government services rendered at present contain contributions to future economic well-being. Other services, if financed by borrowing rather than by taxes, may come at the expense of our children's welfare.

We should remember, however,

that, barring unexpected national catastrophes, future generations are likely to be on the average wealthier than we are. This can be confidently predicted on the basis of the persistent long-term trend of advances in productivity we have been experiencing in the past one hundred years. It may therefore be not entirely unfair on our part to expect of our wealthier-to-be children to collectively help us out to live fractionally better than we otherwise could afford.

As in most things in life, there is a matter of principle, and a matter of the degree to which any acceptable principle should be invoked.

If the deficits are allowed to grow continuously relative to our gross national product, inflation and interest rates are likely to increase with potentially adverse effects on productivity growth. Higher and more variable rates of inflation tend, among other things, to weaken business incentives aimed at improving productivity in favor of greater reliance on financial manipulations.

The latter have largely a zero-sum effect on the economic welfare of society as a whole. Lower productivity growth is bound to erode increases in the wealth of future generations, limiting their ability to help us with-

out incurring significant sacrifice. From a moral perspective, the deficit debate can be viewed in terms of intergenerational transfers of wealth. Like most important distributional problems, this one does not lend itself to easy solutions. Nonetheless, we should realize that by merely incurring deficits we may not be depriving future generations to the extent we think we are. Also, within limits, some transfer of wealth from the future to the present may be reasonably regarded as equitable.

However, the consequences of overindulgence in living beyond our means could certainly be considered unfair to our children. Only by increasing our productivity can we afford even more today and at the same time provide for more wealth for future generations, thus escaping the hazards of intergenerational conflicts.

This however requires greater effort and ingenuity on the part of management, labor and government. Collectively, there is no way we can have a free intergenerational lunch.

EPHRAIM F. SUDIT  
Newark, N.J., July 10, 1984  
The writer is associate director of the Business Research Center at Rutgers University.

## American Salesmen Are No Bunch of Liars

To the Editor:

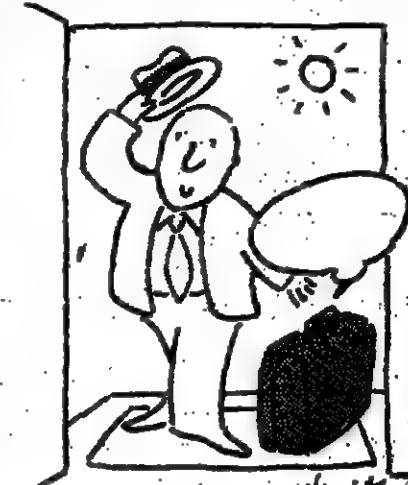
In an editorial entitled "The Fiction of Truth" (June 20), you expressed a bit of fiction of your own when you wrote, "Some mongers of mere fact, notably salesmen and politicians, routinely pretend to be revealing truth."

I do not object to your grouping salesmen with politicians, for both must sell their ideas to survive — and were it not for the creation of sales, the entire economy would collapse. I do, however, regret on behalf of the 50,000 salespeople we represent the characterization that we "routinely pretend to be revealing truth."

Are you, Sir, calling America's salesmen liars?

May I inform you that modern American salesmen depend upon the good will of their customers. Their word is their bond. Do not confuse praise of one's own product with lying.

In every group there are those who fall below the standard, but to paint all who sell for a living with the same brush is to do violence to all



the ideals of The Times. You stand foursquare for truth, and salesmen have the right to expect you to be guided by your own high standards.

MARVIN LEFFLER  
Chairman, National Council of Salesmen's Organizations, Inc.  
New York, July 9, 1984

## In Taxation, Simplicity and Equity Don't Mix

To the Editor:

Senator William J. Roth Jr.'s July 13 Op-Ed article exemplifies the very reason that the concept of a flat tax — while very attractive in terms of simplicity (and, to an extent, in fairness) — will not be implemented for many years to come: There are too many special interests.

The Senator would allow deductions for home-mortgage interest, charitable contributions and "to protect against medical catastrophe." That's fine. But what about those who have other problems? For example, who is to say that someone whose house burns down or is destroyed by a tornado or a flood should not have some tax relief?

And would the Senator allow individuals deductions for business expenses? For instance, will a salesman who must use his car for business be allowed a deduction or will such a deduction be available only if paid by corporate employers?

Of course, the thrust of the article is

that a new tax system should encourage savings. Senator Roth points out that our nation has always recognized the value of putting something aside for a "rainy day." Many people still do just that, but the rainy days keep coming. The very things that he suggests a "Super Savings Account" could be used for are causing middle-class Americans to spend their existing savings: "a new car, a down payment on a house, a child's education."

The real point is, even if a Super Savings Account were practical, it would simply create another special-purpose exemption from taxation. And everyone has his or her own ideas as to other exclusions or deductions.

To paraphrase a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, you can have simplicity or you can have equity in a taxing system, but you can't have both. Once you open the door for one person's special situation, you open it for everyone else's.

WARREN WEINSTOCK  
New York, July 16, 1984

## Paradoxical Assault On Abortions Abroad

To the Editor:

There are two ironic aspects to the Reagan Administration's threat to cut off A.I.D. grants to the International Planned Parenthood Federation [pews story July 14].

First, the I.P.P.F. has never had a policy of supporting abortion as a means of birth control. Its revenues, currently about \$55 million a year, are allocated among its member organizations, each of them a private, independent family-planning association governed by citizens of the country it represents. Each uses its grant for the delivery of contraceptive services to poor people and for educational programs. Virtually all grant-receiving associations are in less-developed countries.

In 13 years on the I.P.P.F. budget and finance committee, I can't remember our ever making a fund allocation for the delivery of abortion services. The most recent audit, covering 1982, indicates that federation money that associations did spend on abortion-related subjects — none of which came from U.S.A.I.D. funds — amounted to some 0.25 percent of total grants.

Most of this money went for services to the victims of bungled abortions, for the preparation of statistics on abortion and for publications (e.g., a textbook for doctors dealing with medical aspects of abortion). In other words, abortion represents an inconsequential part of the work of the I.P.P.F. and its affiliates.

Second, if proponents of a ban on legal abortions really want to cut down on the 50 million abortions estimated to be performed each year around the world (most of them illegal), the last thing they should be promoting is a cut in the lamentably underfunded extension of contraceptive services.

JOHN C. ROBBINS  
New York, July 19, 1984

## When Employment Hinges on Keeping the Faith

To the Editor:

James Guide's July 16 letter ["Hiring Homosexuals: An Issue in Need of Proper Definitions"] raises some disturbing questions about the relationship of church and state and the deployment of public funds by religious agencies.

If religious bodies are exempt from Mayor Koch's Executive Order 50 [against discrimination against homosexuals in hiring] on the ground that homosexual activity contravenes the dictates of certain religious traditions, does this mean that these same groups (such as the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York) have the right to refuse employment — even when using public funding — to homosexuals who also deviate from religious teachings?

Heterosexuals who engage in extramarital and premarital intercourse, as well as adulterers and abortionists, all participate in activities that violate Roman Catholic teachings. Are these people also liable to discrimination by religious authorities? And is there any legal recourse to protect them from the possibility of discrimination or dismissal?

Finally, if conservative religious bodies balk at nondiscriminatory pledges concerning homosexuality,

what must be their position concerning the employment of atheists, whose philosophical convictions reject the very bases and foundations of Christian and Jewish belief? Are these people also liable to discrimination?

And, if so, would this not mean that religious bodies could employ public moneys to advance their own theological convictions at the expense of those who espouse a very variant philosophical approach? Or, to put it more crudely, can religion advance itself with public money and simultaneously discriminate against those who advocate or profess atheism?

Mr. Guide fails to address himself to the issue of religious agencies employing public funds to advance their own philosophical and ethical concerns and in so doing to discriminate against those who disagree with these principles.

A pluralistic society demands tolerance of many diverse views and life styles; however, public money cannot be used to advance the particular views of one (or several) religious groups at the expense of competing understandings on ethical and philosophical matters.

(Rev.) WARREN C. FLATT  
New York, July 16, 1984  
The writer is an Episcopal priest.

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SAN FRANCISCO, July 21 — They say the Democrats are the party of the past, that Walter Mondale is the last, pale heir of the once mighty New Deal coalition.

John Sears, who ran Ronald Reagan's campaign for a time in 1980, saw the convention here as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's last funeral. Just as F.D.R. ended 72 years of Republican primacy that was the heritage of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Sears said the Roosevelt mantle has now worn out and can't be remodeled.

But it didn't look that way at the convention center. It looked as if the new Democratic Party had already arrived. It isn't the intellectual, electronic party of Gary Hart, no more than it became the radical party of George McGovern or the greening-of-America party of Eugene McCarthy. Those turned out to be detours from the direct line of descendants.

The Democrats now have turned out to be the party of the immigrants of the early 20th century whose children and grandchildren are making it to power. They include women and blacks, those internal migrants who arrived late on the political scene and had to fight for their claim to a piece of turf just as the Roosevelt coalition did.

But they aren't leftists and they aren't chic, although it's remarkable how trim, poised and attractive the rising women are. Betty Friedman and Gloria Steinem scored the route for them, but these aren't the same types.

Colorado's Representative Patricia Schroeder, Kentucky's Gov. Martha Layne Collins, Connecticut's Barbara Kennedy, San Francisco's Mayor Dianne Feinstein and others are practicing politicians who happen to be women. They don't slap backs or chew tobacco, who does nowadays? But they are professionals who know and use the tricks of their trade. Representative Schroeder, jollying and cheering up a women's caucus for

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## The New Populism

By Flora Lewis

Senator Hart, gleefully told them that when they saw someone being interviewed on the convention floor, "just schlep up behind and get your Hart banner on camera."

Veteran political staffer Frank Mankiewicz recalled that it was about a decade ago that Mary Anne Krupak ran for Lieutenant Governor of New York on the slogan "She's not one of the boys." Now, politicians say of Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro with warm approval, "She is one of the boys."

These women don't wear gray-flannel suits anymore. They aren't afraid to appear what they are, smart women who are sensitive to women's issues but can also tackle a defense procurement fight. They have worked their way inside the political machinery, yet recently enough to stay accessible and know how people feel outside.

The blacks on the scene are not the display cast recruited by Roosevelt, Kennedy or Humphrey, either. They didn't come in through the kitchen but through the front door of a system that is being pried open. They are already mayors of a majority of the biggest cities. Jesse Jackson has shown he knows how to organize and get out the vote.

The real question posed by what the convention revealed of today's Democratic Party isn't whether it's a last hurrah. It is clearly looking forward, not clinging to power but reaching for it. The goals are familiar: compassion, social justice, opportunity, a strong and vibrant society. But the people have changed.

They have an emotional sensitivity, reflected in their response to a strange and poignant moment. Senator Edward Kennedy was making a forceful speech to introduce Walter Mondale, and his voice broke when he tried to mention his brother Robert. Sixteen years after Bobby was murdered, Teddy choked on the name. The crowd understood immediately. They burst into cheers, giving Teddy time to regain his composure, gulp and go on.

But they are tough-minded people, not dreamy. Mrs. Ferraro shrewdly reminded them that she had been a prosecutor. They also cheered when she said, "I've put my share of criminals behind bars."

All this bears the signs of a new populism. It has arisen largely from newly organized groups, and that is why it looks so fragmented.

So the real question isn't whether it's the same old New Deal patchwork, but whether America is prepared to acknowledge these new demands to spread the power, or whether the country wants to dig in where it stands a while longer.

It's the future all right, but is the country ready for it?

"We are the country," says Ann Lewis, political director (not women's political director as once upon a time) of the Democratic National Committee. She reasons that it will take a much bigger voter turnout than usual for the outsiders to have a chance at getting in. But if they choose to push, the Democratic Party has spruced up welcome signs.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 21 — This year's Democratic Party convention was one of the best of the 21 I have seen in the last 40 years. It almost brought the party together — almost but not quite.

Something intensely human and emotional happened in this gathering of the warring Democratic tribes that is hard to define and harder to measure. It was a revival meeting in more ways than one, vaguely religious at times, and defiantly, even mockingly, political.

The main thing that happened here was a restoration of hope, if not confidence. There was a whiff of defeatism in the air at the start, but the delegates went away in a blaze of stars and stripes, believing they now had a shot, if a long shot, at the Presidency.

None of the things they feared the most came to pass in this convention. They didn't fall apart. Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson gave Mr. Mondale a hard time, but they didn't break away. The Hispanic delegates weren't happy but they didn't take a walk. The convention even swallowed Bert Lance, though it gagged in the process.

On the positive side, the Democrats found their voice in San Francisco. There has been a woeful decline of public political speech among the Democrats in recent years, but in a masterful address, Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York gave them a key and just the right note, and Jesse Jackson gave them the old-time religion and had them singing arm in arm in the aisles. Equally important, they kept their bores off television.

Also, they went back to their old promise and applied it to the future: They vowed "to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable," and they denounced President Reagan for doing the opposite.

Fairness and openness were their favorite words, and the old-time values their constant theme. They were clearly conscious of the Republi-

## WASHINGTON

## A Revival Meeting

By James Reston

can charges that the Democrats were soft on loafers, soft on communism, soft on homosexuals, easy on crooks, and short on military and economic security.

But here on the stage was Geraldine Ferraro, the daughter of Roman Catholic Italian immigrants, the first woman to be nominated for the Vice Presidency, talking about hard work and children and the future and how many criminals she had put in jail. And here were Mr. Mondale and his wife, the children of Protestant ministers, testifying to the virtues of faith and the family.

How all this struck the vast television audience of voters and nonvoters one does not know. But listening to Governor Cuomo honoring his parents and watching him and Mrs. Ferraro fight back the tears had a powerful effect on these delegates.

In the middle of Mrs. Ferraro's speech, women were standing in the aisles, their cheeks wet with tears, pleading softly: "Don't cry, please don't cry."

But it was not all emotion. For a long time the Democrats hesitated to attack President Reagan, but here they did not hold back. Mr. Jackson said he'd rather have Franklin Roosevelt in a wheelchair than Ronald Reagan on a horse. Mr. Mondale said: "Let's tell the truth. Mr. Reagan will raise taxes and so will I. He won't tell you. I just did."

Gary Hart said: "Ronald Reagan and his gang of greedy polluters can no longer sing 'America the Beautiful' while they scar her face, poison her air and corrupt her waters."

Senator Edward Kennedy, nodding his head in approval of his own wisecracks, said the President had never met an arms control agreement he didn't dislike, and he insisted that Mr. Reagan "shouldn't be the only senior citizen who doesn't have to worry about the cost of Social Security."

Senator Kennedy added that the President "intends to spend billions on Star Wars in outer space, and that's why we should send him back to Hollywood, which is where both Star Wars and Ronald Reagan belong."

And yet all this emotion and mockery about President Reagan's presiding over a Government "of the rich, by the rich and for the rich" didn't quite bring all the leaders together except for a final photograph.

Many delegates from the South have their doubts about the success in their region of a ticket of two liberals from the North. Others wonder about the popularity of Mr. Mondale's suggestions of large defense cuts, of protectionism and limiting the President's power to send troops abroad.

Gary Hart was not a generous but a grudging loser, and Jesse Jackson keeps asking Mr. Mondale "What have you done for me lately?"

Also, there was some anxiety about the Democratic appeals to class conflict. Nevertheless, there was general agreement that this was an effective partisan convention, and there was also agreement with Mr. Mondale's strategy for the campaign.

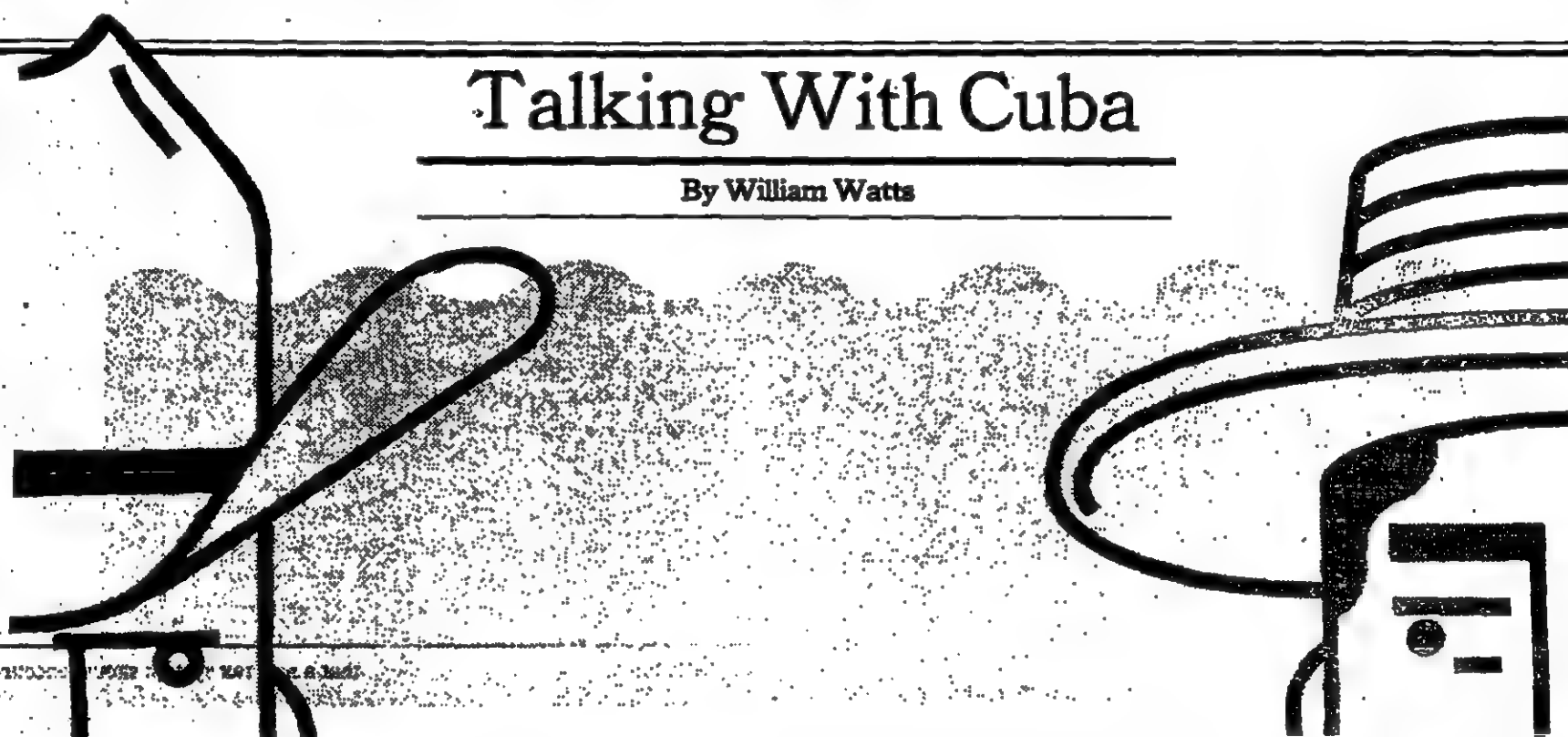
"Let them [the Republicans] fight over the past," he said, "we're fighting for the American future."

WASHINGTON — The talks between United States and Cuban officials on immigration questions and the possible return to Cuba of some of the "Mariel excludables" — Cubans who came to the United States in the large-scale exodus from Port Mariel in early 1980 with criminal or medical records that made them ineligible for entry — were brief and apparently inconclusive. Nor did they suggest any lasting improvement in relations between the two countries. But that can change if and when both sides realize that it is in their interest to reach a compromise on the fundamental issues dividing them.

From the United States side, the problems are clear. Cuba is seen as a virtual surrogate of the Soviet Union, ready to carry out Moscow's bidding in Angola, Ethiopia, Grenada, and elsewhere. Beyond that, the Cuban leadership is viewed as having taken a renewed interest in fomenting rebellion and internal insurrection in Central America, especially in El Salvador, after having played a less active hemispheric role for some years following the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia.

Cuba, on the other hand, argues that its role is one of support for

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## Talking With Cuba

By William Watts

friends and like-minded activists who are struggling against political, economic and social inequities. Cuban officials, scholars and others insist that relations with the Soviet Union are Cuba's own business. United States opposition to those ties and Cuban support for what Cuba sees as legitimate revolutionary movements is

just another attempt, they say, to maintain the status quo and American hegemony.

As unbridgeable as these differences may seem, there may still be room for maneuver. To be sure, nothing can happen if the United States insists that no real improvement is possible without a Cuban break with the

Soviet Union or if Cuba insists on a totally free hand in the hemisphere and elsewhere. Between those two extremes, however, there may be common ground worth exploring.

The Cuban economy, according to recent World Bank report, is showing signs of considerable weakness. Havana itself has a certain air of

shabbiness (now being attacked by restoration efforts in the old part of the city) and a scarcity of consumer goods, which do not go hand in hand with vibrant development. The United States' economic embargo means that imports are dominated by items from the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe — Soviet

Lada automobiles, Czechoslovak beer, Hungarian and Rumanian wine — with Soviet freighters always present in the Havana harbor. (All the while, vintage American automobiles command attention, and dated items of United States manufacture — hotel room thermostats and elevator push buttons, for example — go unrepaired for lack of spare parts.)

There are, as well, few signs of direct human contact in the Soviet-Cuban relationship and certainly little warmth. The few Russian advisers visible seem to stay to themselves when out in public, not mingling with their Cuban hosts. Passengers on a Soviet charter flight that stopped over in Havana on the way back to Moscow from what was described as a vacation fishing excursion to Peru kept completely to themselves in the José Martí Airport waiting lounge. They showed no interest in their surroundings. The sense of distance and separation was striking.

By contrast, many Cubans seem very interested in the United States. A two-day symposium held at the end of June at the University of Havana's Center for the Study of the United States focused entirely on the forthcoming Presidential election. The research on United States politics was serious and intense, although marked by Marxist and deterministic assumptions that most American observers would challenge.

Interestingly, as an invited lecturer I was free to make just such challenges. United States concerns about Cuba's ties to the Soviet Union were discussed openly and directly. I made it clear that any genuine improvement of links between Cuba and the United States — if that is what Cuba wants — would require Cuban authorities to make room between

A generation of Americans has come to maturity under a legal system in which the United States Supreme Court has provided sustained protection for individual rights. Many Americans appear to have been lulled into believing that liberty is a natural state of political affairs and that our freedom is etched in constitutional stone. Reality is less sanguine.

Americans are not immune from political and social oppression. The waves of political hysteria that have periodically engulfed our nation — as well as our unfortunate history of racial, sexual and religious intolerance — bear witness to the need for effective institutional checks on the majority's power.

Our history teaches us that when the Supreme Court falters in its role as protector of the individual, the fragile institutional structure that keeps us free is placed at risk.

Unfortunately, no Court in recent memory has been less receptive to the pleas of the poor and the politically powerless than the Supreme Court during the past term.

In the First Amendment area, for example, the Court refused to protect

the rights of poor people to put up election posters on utility poles in Los Angeles because posters create "visual clutter." The Court also refused to permit homeless people to conduct a symbolic "sleep-in" in Lafayette Park and the Mall in Washington because sleeping in the park might damage the grass.

At the same time, the Court protected the ability of cable broadcasters to advertise liquor products nationwide, upheld the right of publicly subsidized television stations to broadcast editorials and struck down limitations on professional fund-raising.

The relationship between the size of your wallet and the degree of First Amendment freedom could not be starker.

In the Social Security area, the Supreme Court reversed a lower court decision that required the Social Security Administration to process disability claims within a 90-day period, leaving applicants with no recourse against bureaucratic neglect. The Supreme Court also refused to permit poor people to challenge a regulation forbidding reimbursement for certain medical treatment until after the treatment was completed and reimbursement was denied. Unfortunately, since poor patients are unable to pay for treatment, the Court's decision creates a Catch-22 situation in which patients are allowed to claim that they are entitled to free

## Supreme Court Falters, Alas

By Burt Neuborne

decision that required the Social Security Administration to process disability claims within a 90-day period, leaving applicants with no recourse against bureaucratic neglect. The Supreme Court also refused to permit poor people to challenge a regulation forbidding reimbursement for certain medical treatment until after the treatment was completed and reimbursement was denied. Unfortunately, since poor patients are unable to pay for treatment, the Court's decision creates a Catch-22 situation in which patients are allowed to claim that they are entitled to free

treatment only after they pay for it. Finally, the Court ruled that denying scholarship aid to students who have not registered for the draft does not discriminate against the poor because, in winning the 1984 Anacole France award, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger observed that the Government denies scholarship aid "equally" to rich and poor students alike.

Two responses are possible to the Supreme Court's apparent change in course.

One is to retreat into cynicism. After all, for the better part of our nation's history, courts have belonged to the powerful. Law has more often than not reflected the fact that "the strong do what they will and the weak suffer what they must." It would be a tragedy of monumental proportions, however, if too many of us succumbed to cynicism. If nothing else, it would play directly into the hands of those who view courts not as the forum of last resort for the individual but as just another engine of social control.

I prefer a more hopeful response — one that is rooted as much in faith as in reason. I prefer to believe that the Justices are not insensitive to the role of the Court as the last best hope of the individual and do not systemati-

cally undervalue the interests of the poor and the powerless.

I prefer to view the Court as I believe many of the Justices view themselves — as a group of dedicated judges grappling with often intractable issues, trying to draw a tolerable balance between freedom and authority.

That the balance this term has been drawn far too much in favor of authority does not mean that the result need be the same next term.

Robert Frost said it best in "The Black Cottage": "... why abandon a belief merely because it ceases to be true. Cling to it long enough, and not a doubt

It will turn true again, for so it goes. Most of the change we think we see in life is due to truths being in and out of favor.

As I sit here, and oftentimes, I wish I could be monarch of a desert land. I could devote and dedicate forever to the truths we keep coming back and back to."

Individual liberty is a truth that the United States Supreme Court keeps coming back to. I haven't abandoned my beliefs. Don't you abandon yours. Too much depends on them.

'There may still be room for maneuver'

themselves and the Soviet Union on at least some topics of particular interest to Washington. However contrary to official Cuban policy my comments were, the audience did not reject them out of hand.

Whether President Fidel Castro regards warmer relations as important enough to warrant even the most limited display of independence from the Soviet Union is unknown. Furthermore, any Cuban action along these lines would require a comparably adequate response from President Reagan or his successor that might exceed the limits of what is seen in America as politically desirable or possible.

Political will can accomplish a great deal and can overcome political policy inconsistencies. United States policy has steadfastly sought to limit Soviet influence in the Western Hemisphere and to loosen the iron bonds that unite Havana and Moscow. Yet the punitive aspects of our policy have also tended to strengthen those very bonds that we do not like. We have offered President Castro little in the way of temptation that might encourage the very freedom of maneuver that we would like to see him adopt.

Although the Mariel talks appear to have proved abortive (and we do not know all the particulars), in due course others are sure to follow in their wake. If, at some point, actions on the Cuban side indicate significant flexibility, our own representatives might consider the kind of larger, truly substantive response that could provide just such a test of Mr. Castro. The United States' move would not have to be irreversible, after all, and the results might be surprising.

BROOKLANDVILLE, Md. — Not surprisingly, the issue of age has been raised regarding the candidacy of Ronald Reagan. (If re-elected, he will be almost 74 when he begins his second term.) Some people have even suggested, often in the strongest terms, that President Reagan should not seek another term because he is too old. They are entitled to their view, but it is doubtful that many will agree with them.

Consider the following facts. The first eight Presidents lived to an average age of 79.4 years. This includes John Adams, who set an all-time record of 90 years, 197 days, but also Washington who died at 67 years, 195 days.

The life span of the 35 Presidents who are no longer living was 69 years, 105 days. And this includes the four men who were assassinated at rela-

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tively young ages: Lincoln (56), Garfield (49), McKinley (58) and Kennedy (46).

Two — John Adams and Hoover — lived to be over 90. Four survived into their 80's: Truman (88), Madison (85), Jefferson (83) and John Quincy Adams (80 years, 227 days). Ten lived into their 70's, including Van Buren (79), Eisenhower (79), Jackson (78) and Buchanan (77).

On the average, the Presidents who died natural deaths exceeded the life spans of their Vice Presidents by a good margin.

While seven Vice Presidents have died in office of natural causes, only three Presidents have suffered this fate (William H. Harrison, Taylor, Harding).

By a margin of nearly 2 to 1, Presidents have outlived their wives — including, in four cases, second wives.

More Presidents than not have exceeded the life span of their chief rival in the opposing party.

And how about the job? Are the

## Why Presidents Can Be Old

By Martin D. Tullai



hours and pressure killing? Not necessarily. In fact, the daily challenges and high-pressure activities of the Presidency may well act as a desirable and life-extending stimulant.

A President, while faced with tough problems, has the means to cope with them (this may explain why no President is known to have suffered from ulcers). And no one in this country — maybe in the world — is better cared for than the President.

The President's day is well organized. He has a large staff to look after his needs and reduce frustration to a minimum. Limousines, ships, helicopters and airplanes are immediately available. Time is set aside for relaxation at Camp David or elsewhere, and the President is constantly attended by a physician.

While the life expectancy for males in America today is 70.8 years old — which would not help President Reagan — the statistics are much more promising for those who have reached their 70th birthday. They can

expect to live 11.1 more years. But looking beyond the statistics, it has been recognized that illness may be more a function of stress than of age. And chronological age may be a poor measure of Ronald Reagan's health and his ability to handle the job of the Presidency.

Dr. Matthew Tayback, coordinator of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institution's center on aging and former director of the Maryland State Commission on Aging, has declared: "With Ronald Reagan's history of the past four years, there's every reason to believe he can look forward to a fairly vigorous next four years." Dr. Tayback feels that Mr. Reagan's rapid recovery from the assassination attempt in 1981 is "an example of the basic health of the individual."

In this election, voters should be guided by factors more substantial than a candidate's age. As the writer Tryon Edwards has reminded us, "Age does not depend upon years, but upon temperament and health."



# Mastroianni: A Sex Symbol at 60

By MELTON S. DAVIS

ROME

For almost 40 years, much of the moviegoing public has come to think of Marcello Mastroianni as the emblem of Latin fascination, the classic seducer: dashing, suave, cynical. "I don't think I have any of the qualities of a Don Juan," the actor says today, "and I can't understand why this label has stuck to me ever since 'La Dolce Vita.' In pictures I've been a homosexual, impotent, and in one I was pregnant, but never a seducer. The label is even more unreasonable now that I'm 60." Sixty? "Past," he says. His eyes crinkle as his mouth forms his famous half-smile. "Sure," he adds, "I'd rather be 45. But I don't mind playing characters of my age and my times."

In Marco Bellocchio's forthcoming film version of Pirandello's "Henry IV," Mr. Mastroianni plays one of the older roles he's been doing of late, an aristocrat who has put the real world on hold for more than 20 years. When visited in his self-exile by an early love (Claudia Cardinale) and her grown daughter, it is the latter who falls in love with him. That this is instantly credible confirms Mr. Mastroianni's continuing eminence in the hearts of female admirers while evoking the good-natured envy of men.

That quality was also evident at this year's Cannes film festival, where the star was surrounded by crowds pleading for his attention, shouting "Marcello, Marcello." Almost as if it were once again that day 24 years earlier when "La Dolce Vita" was shown at the festival, in the kingdom of illusion nothing had changed.

Melton S. Davis reports frequently on the arts in Italy.



Marcello Mastroianni in his latest movie, "Henry IV"—  
"Don't close the coffin. I haven't slowed down yet."

Indeed, despite the lines in his face, the bags under his eyes and the incipient double chin, Mr. Mastroianni remains charm incarnate. Physically older, yes, but with a touch of Peter Pan, a kind of innocent sophistication, a southern Italian characteristic with which he was born.

If his features and his weight have changed since he was a young man, his dry wit and nonchalant grace are still his hallmark. Although a touch jowly, his face has become stronger with age, and his head could be that of an ancient Roman. But in "Henry IV," in which he's seen nude, a paunch is evident. "I wasn't happy about that," the actor says, "because I know I don't have the physique. Besides, I've spent four months on the

Paris stage where I played a senseless drinker. I fit into the role and gained 13 pounds. But I'll lose it even if it won't make me more beautiful."

He goes on, in the deep, sensuous voice that is missed by those who only see his pictures dubbed: "I've attacked my body many times in movies, but beauty? I've never been handsome and never thought so. Alain Delon, Tyrone Power, they were handsome. Vittorio Gassman is handsome, even aristocratic, with his aquiline nose; mine is upturned. I have a face that's likable, pleasing, a peasant's face, which is not surprising seeing I come from peasant stock."

Is he very different from the Marcello Mastroianni who made his ac-

ting debut 37 years ago? "I feel exactly the same — with the same enthusiasm and curiosity," he says. "Along the way I've had painful experiences and happy ones. But I've never dwelled too long on anything, nor do I delve into things I should change. With time, you become more patient, more comprehensive, accepting setbacks with good sense."

"Your breath becomes shorter, and you begin to look after yourself more carefully. But wait a minute, don't close the coffin, I haven't slowed down yet."

His energy under pressure still arouses admiration. The day after he ended his stage engagement in Paris, he underwent 38 interviews in seven hours in Italian, French and English, remaining unfazed by television lights and shouted questions. It was the press agent responsible for arranging the marathon who later admitted to being exhausted.

When Mr. Mastroianni wants to, he says, he can rival anyone in vitality. Critics at Cannes were enthralled with Mr. Mastroianni's acting in "Henry IV," although the picture was less warmly greeted. Mr. Mastroianni was majestic, a real king, said the newspaper France-Soir. Others called it his most mature and intelligent interpretation. Was he disappointed at not winning the best actor award? "It's not as important to win," he answers, "as it is to lose with elegance."

Obviously he takes losing with the same equanimity with which he confronts life. "As long as I'm working, he says, 'everything's fine. Sure, I've made some bad films, but it doesn't bother me any more than my age does. I've never lost a night's sleep over it. I know there'll be another film, another possibility for success.'"

He applies the same philosophy to prize winning. Although he was the first foreign actor in a foreign film to be nominated for an Oscar, he's never won one himself, while three pictures in which he has appeared have won the award.

Despite this, in his long career Marcello Vincenzo Domenico Mastroianni, with over 120 leading roles, stands out as one of the most versatile leading men the screen has known. Co-

median, tragedian, historical figure or contemporary, a policeman or thief, a capitalist or revolutionary, betrayer or betrayed, it doesn't matter. Whatever the role calls for, he fits. Daniel Toscani du Plantier, head of the French film company Gaumont, says, "Marcello has amazing adaptability, enabling him to portray almost any possible character. I've never seen him fail."

Mr. Mastroianni's performances are so without apparent effort that he doesn't seem to be acting at all, which raises the question as to whether he's playing the character or the character is playing him. "In fact," says Federico Fellini, "Marcello is less an actor than a person who gets inside a role and turns it into temporary reality. With some American actors you say, 'Open the door,' and they ask, 'What's my motivation?' And I say, 'To go through.' But Marcello's already digested the part and reconstructed it. He knows what the character is doing, even without always knowing why."

The producer Franco Comencini, who will co-star Mr. Mastroianni with Jack Lemmon in a new film called "Macaroni," says he was chosen "not merely because he's the only international actor in Italy, but because we needed someone of the stature of Mr. Lemmon. Then there's his age, 60, the same as Lemmon's. Besides, Marcello is perfect to portray a Neapolitan for whom life is stronger than death."

As an actor, Mr. Mastroianni has no vanity. In "La Nuit de Varennes," he was an aged, decrepit Casanova with a heavily lined face, a gray wig and painted lips; in "The Organizer," a stubble-bearded trade unionist; in "Divorce Italian Style," a dandified Sicilian nobleman; a grubby plasterer in "The Pizza Triangle," and in "Bye Bye Monkey," a shabby outcast.

When it comes to accepting difficult parts, says his good friend Anna

Maria Tatro, a television director, he goes out of his way to change his image.

An actor, according to Mr. Mastroianni, should be able to change in minutes from one personage to another. After all, he says, "Cinema is a pure lie, and the actor is a liar, the most ancient seller of smoke who finds satisfaction in simulation. Yet some say acting is complicated, a torment. Come on. Complaining when it's enjoyable. Acting is a pleasure, like making love. No, wait a minute, not always; lovemaking is often an ordeal."

He chuckles, lighting another of his ever-present cigarettes. "Method acting is nonsense," he continues, puffing away. "All an actor must do is cultivate intelligence. For instance, if you have to play someone who's mad, there's no use going to an asylum to watch a madman. The madness you see is his, the gestures, the looks are his, not yours. To play a madman as I did in 'Henry IV,' you must search within yourself, above all, invent."

Mr. Mastroianni admits there are pitfalls to this. "Sure, he says, 'acting means entering into another character. After doing this for a few decades, the actor is no longer certain of his own personal nature. He starts to ask himself who he is. And this already is a quiet beginning of madness.'"

"I don't believe actors should think so much about their roles sitting quietly by themselves in a dark room. You can work on your character while you're eating spaghetti in a crowded restaurant — and of course, later on the set. The test is being able to feel what our lives are like in their best and their most difficult moments, to recall the suffering we may experience in the middle of the night. I'm a good actor because I've lived a full life. I hope to go on doing so."

## STAGE VIEW

BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

# Beckett's 'Endgame': An Inexhaustible Pleasure

Some dogged pedant once counted every sentence of "Waiting for Godot," and found that more than a quarter of them were questions, few of which received satisfactory answers. As far as I know, he didn't go on to apply his mathematical eye to Samuel Beckett's next important play, "Endgame"; but then he didn't really need to do so. Everything about it is interrogative. Every second sentence teases the mind with new doubts. Everywhere you look, you see evidence of Beckett's conscientious commitment to the uncertainty principle.

Up go the stage lights at 410 West 42d Street, or the Beckett Theater as it's recently been christened, and there, once again, is the scene that has launched a thousand theses and sent a score of critics helplessly slobbering to bedlam. Blind Hamm sits erect in his armchair, his parents trapped in the trash can beside him, and lame Clov, who may or may not be his son, scuttles about the all-gray room, sulkily pandering to his interminable wants and whims. Outside, we're told, all is blank, dead. What is it we have here — a sour travesty of the nuclear family precariously surviving the nuclear holocaust?

That, maybe, and more. Why are there two tiny windows high on the cracked walls, like eyes in a skull? Could we be in the head of someone in the process of dying, or disintegrating? Does Hamm represent the clamorous id, Clov a tormented mind or shattered superego, the two still edgily dependent on each other? And why is the old monster called Hamm, anyway? In the original draft of the play Clov actually read him the biblical story of the Flood. Are we supposed to see him as Ham, son of Noah, presiding over the postdiluvian wilderness? Or as a hammer, endless punishing his Clov, clov, or nail? Or as a ham actor, striking overblown attitudes ("Can there be misery loftier than mine?") or parodying Shakespeare's Prospero ("Our revels now are ended") and his Richard III? Everywhere there are tantalizing hints, slyly inveigling you into a maze that seems more than usually crammed with cul de sacs. That's the way to the locked ward, and a future spent sitting on the floor, giggling, and playing paper darts with pages of Beckett's plays.

But once you start, it's hard to stop. Perhaps we should worry less about Hamm's name, more about that of the play. The old tyrant's impotence, his immobility on his throne, combine with much he says to suggest a game of chess about to end with the destruction of an isolated king; and, curiously enough, this interpretation would seem to receive some support from the usually mum Beckett. "He's a king in a game lost from the start," he reportedly told the Hamm in a German production he himself directed, "from the start he knows he is making loud and senseless moves, and now at the end, he makes the sort of moves only a bad player would. A good one would have given up long ago. He is only trying to delay the

inevitable end." In other words, the play is about resignation, renunciation, and the difficulty of achieving it on planet Earth.

At the Beckett Theater Alvin Epstein transforms Hamm's first words, "me to play," into something between a wheeze, a yawn and an exhausted groan. Then he dourly ruminates for a moment, then launches into the first of those "loud, senseless moves" with an ear-splitting yell of "Clov!" If he lacks the grim, sardonic majesty I remember the late Patrick Magee bringing to the role, he has the restlessness, the fidgety desolation, his author would seem to want. His face tense and alert behind the ginger-white scrub of his beard, he twists with impatience and querulous irritation, intermittently exploding into a blast of anger, a chuckle of baleful glee, or something stronger still. Never before have I heard Hamm react so rawly to the news that the painkiller for which he's been waiting is all used. The stage direction requires the actor to produce a "scream" at this point, and Mr. Epstein's "what'll I do?" makes one's mental ratters ring.

The production, by Mr. Epstein himself, is delivered in mainly Irish accents but packed with American pep. It's feisty, immediate, and much more physically volatile than usual. Hamm prods Clov in the stomach, hugs him by the shoulders, even grabs his arm and yanks him into his lap. Clov cheekily tweaks Hamm, then makes to brain him with a ladder, then pitches himself at the wall and tries to propel himself through it in an ecstasy of exasperated frustration. In this production the drudge is as demonstrative as the master. Peter Evans shuffles and stumbles through the part, making odd clucking, gasping, gurgling noises as he goes. At times he sounds like a whooping-coo ough epidemic in a hen house, which may not quite have been his intention. Yet ennui and despair are in his voice, too, as they are in the slant of his mouth, pulled sideways across a white-gray face.

Add James Greene as a more chirpy Nagg than usual, emerging from his trash can to grin across at Alice Drummond's rather glummer Nell, and you've a production particularly sensitive to the frequent if harsh humor of the play. Beckett himself has compared Hamm and Clov to Estragon and Vladimir at the end of their lives, and there are certainly times when their cross-talk puts you in mind of the dilapidated clowns of "Godot." "Do you believe in the life to come?" asks Clov. "Mine was always that," Hposts Hamm, murmuring "got him that time" as he does so. Exchanges like that remind you that Beckett is in an Irish tradition, kin to O'Casey when it comes to recording resilience in adversity or finding laughter amid pain. But he is, of course, darker and more pessimistic than any of his forebears, something Mr. Epstein does not fail to recognize either as director or actor. Witness his great wall of rage and grief as Hamm remembers what he told the supplicant who begged him for a home for himself and his child: "Use your head, you're on earth, there's no

cure for that."

Beckett once said that the play's key line was, "Nothing is funnier than unhappiness"; but this seems even more vital in Mr. Epstein's production — and why not? If Hamm is a king who can't bring himself to surrender, or (to put it another way) an exemplary man unable to consent to defeat and death, then the sentiment's importance is obvious. Hamm knows his Beckett. He knows that existence in this world is a terminal illness, infinitely unrewarding. He knows that the logical thing to do is, so to speak, to unhitch himself from the life-support system and let events take their course. But he knows it intellectually, not through and through, in his heart and his soul. He is therefore better at recommending his grim medicine to others than accepting it himself.

He insists that the flea Clov finds in his clothes, the rat in his kitchen both be promptly exterminated, in the somewhat eccentric fear that evolution might start again from them. He takes comfort in the prospect of the small boy Clov sees through his telescope — in Beckett's first French version, a figure identified by Hamm with Moses, Christ and Buddha, those who brought mankind its supposedly illusory hopes — dying in the devastation and emptiness outside. Yet the old man himself won't give up. He asks questions, tells stories, takes interest in what is or isn't going on around him. He still has to overcome his propensity, in Beckett's own words, "to say 'no' to nothingness." He still has personally to assent to his author's black metaphysics, according to which nothing is better than nothing. And at the very end of the game that "Endgame," perhaps he does so. His mother slumps lifeless in her trash can, his father forlornly sucks a final dog-biscuit, and Clov at last departs, presumably to embrace a death he's already said will make him "weep with happiness" when it comes. Hamm, too, settles down to die, resigned at last.

"Endgame" hasn't the concision, the grave beauty of Beckett's later plays; but, as this production successfully reemphasizes, it's indisputably a major work, which somehow manages to be bleak and rich, funny and despairing, and several other things that for most authors would scarcely be compatible. And, another sign of its stature, it's seemingly inexhaustible. You may explain some of it some of the time, or even some of it all the time, but no one, to my knowledge, has explained all of it of the time. Something regularly, maddeningly manages to slip through the interpretative net, however widely and boldly cast it may be.

Yet, that only reflects the way Beckett sees his and our world. "We're not beginning to mean something," asks Hamm, and Clov replies, "mean something! You and I mean something? That's a good one!" There's another reason why they and we should be glad when the ontological game reaches its end. We're doomed, so it would seem, to spend it in insignificance and bewild-

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# New agenda for foreign policy

By GIDEON RAFAEL

THE CENTRAL political and ideological aim of the Likud government, since its inception seven years ago, has been the incorporation of Judea, Samaria and Gaza into the State of Israel. This objective determined its economic, social, military and parliamentary policies, as well as its diplomatic actions.

The government invested a vast proportion of the country's resources in mind, men and material in this venture, at the expense of urgent problems besetting the state. It financed its settlement schemes in the administered territories by accumulating foreign debts of dizzying dimensions. It lulled the perplexed public by providing it with a comfortable standard of completely living detached from existing economic realities, resulting in sky-rocketing inflation.

Israel's foreign policy, like all the other elements of government, was brought into line to advance the Likud's supreme goal. This policy, irreconcilable with the aspirations of the Palestinians, led to the deadlock in the negotiations with Egypt and the United States on the establishment of an interim autonomy regime for the administered territories.

The impasse adversely affected not only the peace process, but also affected the development of relations between Israel and Egypt and led eventually to the war in Lebanon. It was the then chief of staff, General Rafael Eitan, who designated the military intervention as the "battle for Judea, Samaria and Gaza."

The government, unable to overcome the opposition of the U.S. to its West Bank policies, concentrated its diplomatic efforts on gaining Washington's benign acquiescence in its action in Lebanon. It found in the then secretary of state, Alexander Haig, a sympathetic interlocutor who seemed to be ready to put up with a military operation against the PLO formations in southern Lebanon, but not with its extension into the north and east of the country, leading to heavy fighting with the Syrian army.

But the campaign followed the course of General Sharon's master plan and not of General Haig's initial understanding, producing a chain of misunderstandings between Israel and the U.S. Acting upon a Soviet warning, President Reagan, forced Israel to declare unilaterally the immediate cessation of all hostilities. The war flared up again and so did the outburst of the president's anger, tempered only by his domestic electoral concerns and his appreciation of the IDF's superiority over the Soviet-equipped Syrian army.

The U.S., instead of using its influence to extricate the foreign forces from the Lebanese imbroglio, got its own troops bogged down in it. Eventually, the whole flimsy diplomatic and military structure collapsed.

The Lebanese government, succumbing to Syrian threats, acknowledged its withdrawal and normaliza-

tion agreement with Israel, concluded in May 1983 under the auspices of the U.S. Israel withdrew its forces to new lines in Southern Lebanon and the U.S. removed its marines altogether, after having suffered tragic losses from terrorist attacks.

Syria, saved from a major military debacle by the Soviet-American diplomatic intervention early in June 1982, became the unchallenged master of Lebanon's destinies.

THE MISHAP in Lebanon caused considerable wear and tear in U.S.-Israel relations, but both sides carefully avoided their degeneration into open crisis - Israel, because it could not afford it, and the U.S., because it had its hands full with too many other crises, ranging from Central America to the Persian Gulf.

To counterbalance Washington's disappointments and irritations, Jerusalem stressed its strategic value as a bulwark against Soviet domination of the region and as a stabilizing force in the strife-torn Middle East. It propagated widely, and not always modestly, the superiority of American over Soviet armaments and equipment, as demonstrated by Israel's striking successes in air combat and anti-missile operations against the Syrian forces.

Israel published prominently a memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation with the U.S., explicitly and unapologetically directed against the Soviet Union. The document, though laud in substance, was presented by the government as a major military pact, only to be suspended by Washington upon the first "misunderstanding" caused by unilateral Israeli surprise action.

While strutting its military and foreign policy to American strategic and economic interests in the Middle East, the Israeli government, however, failed to persuade the U.S. administration to harmonize its positions on the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict with the policies of the Likud government, which rejected, immediately and unreservedly, the peace plan propounded by President Reagan in September 1982, thus helping to perpetuate the political stalemate.

The elections coinciding in the two countries this year, have prompted their governments to observe a political moratorium, deferring the argument on contentious issues for later.

IN WESTERN Europe, where the Likud government had evoked distrust and dismay, Israel lost even more ground in the wake of its extensive settlement activity and the war in Lebanon.

In Latin America, the vast traditional reservoir of friendship for Israel gradually dried out over the last seven years. Only in a few cases in state-to-state Central America did friendships, nourished by opaque arms transactions, continue to exist. They obscured Israel's fruitful assistance in rural development, on which

its reputation in the developing countries had been founded.

In Africa, Israel's foreign policy proceeded on a similar course. While it managed to preserve its relations with a few states of secondary importance in Southern Africa, it failed in its efforts to renew its ties with the important African countries. Only two states, Zaire and Liberia, presently not in best favour with the community of African states, agreed to restore full diplomatic relations with Israel.

As in El Salvador and its neighbors in distress, it was not the prospect of a renewal of Israel's cooperation in development assistance that induced them, to do so, but the expectation of effective military aid in the form of arms sales, training and internal security.

The tendency to operate in grey areas increased in the last few years, creating severe hazards for Israel's diplomacy. These odd connections rarely produced lasting political gains. A policy relegating important parts of Israel's foreign relations to the basement is hardly conducive to the conduct of affairs of state in the parlour. It generally causes more complications than long-term advantages.

AT THE END of seven years, Israel's foreign relations are unbalanced, one-dimensional and out of focus, and their conduct has lost much of its previous prestige. Diplomacy without a comprehensive foreign policy is like navigation without a chart.

In the light of the many far-reaching changes that have occurred in the Middle East and elsewhere, Israel's foreign policy needs reorientation, renovation and reactivation. It must free itself from worn-out clichés, out-dated priorities and the misanthropic view that the world at large is arrayed against the Jewish state.

Israel's foreign policy needs a rearrangement of priorities and a new agenda. This should include: new approaches for the settlement of outstanding issues with the neighboring states; efforts to reinforce and extend relations with the traditionally friendly countries; and filling in the empty spaces on Israel's diplomatic map, stretching south-east from the Jordan border to the Indian subcontinent and northeast from the Golan Heights to the Chinese mainland. These areas, inhabited by more than one third of

the world's population, are completely devoid of any official Israeli presence.

Finally, one of Israel's principal duties is the strengthening of the links with all parts of the Jewish Diaspora.

This agenda is indeed a tall order, but not a mission impossible.

THE KEY to any progress in the peace process is the willingness of Israel's adversaries to negotiate. Their decision might be influenced by the early termination of Israel's involvement in Lebanon. Its continuation hinders the resumption of the autonomy talks, the prelude to an eventual Israel-Palestinian-Jordanian settlement. The prolongation disturbs the peace between Egypt and Israel, carries the risks of war with Syria, and deepens the dissent within Israel itself.

The withdrawal from Lebanon should be accompanied by a number of steps. First, adequate security measures must be initiated to deter the renewal of terrorist activity launched from Southern Lebanon. Such measures should be agreed and coordinated with the government of Lebanon, bolstered by the presence of a United Nations force (UNIFIL) and underwritten by Syria.

Secondly, the continued presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon affects vital Israeli security concerns. In exchange for its acquiescence in the deployment of the Syrian forces, Israel should ask for assurances from the Syrian government that it will not tolerate the organization of hostile elements and their operations in and from the areas under its direct or indirect control.

In the light of past experience and the mutual interest in avoiding renewed military confrontation, such an understanding between the two governments has not only intrinsic merits but also practical prospects. It is important that at no stage should Israel's foreign policy write Syria off as a potential candidate for future negotiations. Discreet contacts between the representatives of the two governments have existed on numerous occasions, regardless of whether a civilian or military regime ruled in Damascus.

Thirdly, in conformity with the Camp David accords or any other acceptable formula, Egypt, Israel and the U.S. should invite the Jordanian government and Palestinian representatives to meet with them at a round-table conference. This

should deal initially with the arrangements for the five-year transitional period, until the parties are ready to negotiate the final status of the territories administered by Israel since 1967.

Fourthly, relations with Egypt require an urgent and thorough review. They have withered in nearly all fields. Both sides have a list of grievances, ranging from the dispute on the tiny Taba enclave to the unsatisfactory state of trade and tourism; from the prolonged absence of the Egyptian ambassador from his post in Israel to the extended stay of the Israeli forces in Lebanon. Egypt claims that their withdrawal and the resumption of the autonomy talks would thaw the present freeze.

But beyond these issues there are wider mutual concerns that could reinforce understanding and cooperation between the two countries. The turmoil in the Gulf area highlights the need for stability in the Red Sea basin.

Egypt supports Iraq in its war with Iran because it regards it as the front line against the threat of spreading Khomeinism. Egypt ships its aid via Akaba, and Iraq intends to move one of its principal oil outlets to this Red Sea port, less than 3 km. from Israel's border in Eilat.

Saudi Arabia likewise is engaged in a process of shifting its oil exports from the troubled waters of the Gulf to the calm Red Sea, whose tranquility is ensured by the Israel-Egyptian peace. The convergence of vital Arab interests in the Red Sea area raises the stakes they have in the stability, and perhaps even the extension, of the zone of peace, created by the existence of peaceful relations between Cairo and Jerusalem.

IMPROVEMENT of its relations with the neighbouring Arab states would enhance Israel's position in the countries of the Western world, which have increasingly distanced themselves from it in recent years. A concerted effort by Israel to extend the area of peace rather than its sovereignty over the West Bank would elicit not only much goodwill from its traditional friends, but also their support for its needs and goals. Israel's pressing economic problems call especially for an intensification of its cooperation with the countries of the European Community.

Relations with the U.S., centring in the past seven years largely on

vital and highly appreciated military and economic assistance, require a deepening of understanding in the political field, especially in relation to the peace settlement. Washington has shelved, but not abandoned, the Reagan plan. It can be assumed that after the presidential election, the administration will revert to it in one form or another.

Israeli foreign policy should be prepared for such an initiative and reconsider the negative attitude of the Begin government, and be ready to draft amendments and counter-proposals for bilateral discussions with the U.S., aiming at the harmonization of our respective positions.

In the area of military cooperation, Israel should refrain from entering into commitments beyond national security concerns arising from the enmity of the Arabs and their supporters.

The restoration of fruitful relations with the developing countries will, as in the case of the Western world, depend in small measure upon the reactivation of the peace process. However, the abundance of internal problems burdening the Third World countries, and their exposure to external pressures, impairs their freedom of independent decision on controversial international issues. In most of these states, intentions are foiled by overriding national interests, and sometimes, unfortunately, by the dubious ambitions of their leaders.

In renewing its efforts in Third World countries, Israel's foreign policy-makers will have to give much creative and innovative thought to producing attractive schemes tailored to the urgent needs and overall capabilities of individual countries.

The cultivation of the diplomatic desert covering Eastern Europe, with the conspicuous exception of Rumania, and East Asia, with the notable exception of Japan and Korea, is a task of far-reaching significance for the establishment of Israel's equilibrium in the world. It is necessary, too, for the development of new outlets for its burgeoning high-tech industry and advanced agricultural technology. The Foreign Ministry should set up working groups of political and economic experts in these areas, to prepare recommendations for diplomatic and economic action suitable for the various countries and continents.

ISRAEL'S RELATIONS with the Diaspora have undergone significant changes, some caused by circumstances, others resulting from the diminution of Israel's centrality in Jewish life. Both causes affect one of the most vital needs of the Jewish state: immigration. The gates of the Soviet Union are virtually closed, while the open exits from the U.S. and elsewhere are scantily used. The stimulation of aliyah, Israel's lifeblood, must again become one of the foremost preoccupations of its government and people.

While Jewish education is an indispensable requisite for awakening

intellectual and spiritual identification with Israel and its transformation into personal commitment to aliyah, political action is needed where aliyah is barred for political reasons. But its tide will not rise by education and persuasion alone. The quality of life in Israel is perhaps even more important, and in this respect our omissions appear to be greater than our commissions.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST, Israel's diplomatic service, the principal instrument of its foreign policy, is in need of intensive and sympathetic care. Over the past 36 years, the Foreign Ministry has accumulated remarkable expertise and *savoir faire*, equalling, if not excelling, that of not a few foreign services enjoying high prestige, long tradition and ample financial resources.

The Israel diplomatic service, unlike most of its counterparts, has to struggle unrelentingly against fierce and persistent worldwide campaigns conducted against the very existence of the state by a compact bloc of adversaries. Our diplomats are the lonely defenders of the country's honour and concerns. They are exposed to vilification and to the risks of murderous terror which, with growing ferocity, has selected the diplomatic community as one of its favourite targets.

Our embassies transmit, and the ministry processes, information vital for the government's decisions. Israel's envoys spare no effort in promoting the country's trade, enlisting economic and military assistance, enlightening public opinion and maintaining close ties with the Jewish community.

Our embassies are generally understaffed and our diplomats overworked and underpaid. The ministry's annual budget amounts approximately to the purchase price of four jet fighters. For nearly a year, the ministry has been without full-time ministerial direction.

The double role performed by the prime minister impairs the functioning and standing, if not of both ministries, then certainly that for foreign affairs. More than at any previous time the morale, team spirit and proficiency of the Foreign Ministry have been tested by the injection of outsiders, appointed to senior posts not for their professional merits, but in reward for loyal party services.

In as much as Israel's foreign policy urgently needs overhaul and re-direction, its practitioners, the highly qualified but insufficiently recognized staff of the ministry are entitled to working conditions commensurate with their responsibilities and worthy of their accomplishments.

The new government will face enormous tasks of rehabilitating the run-down areas of national distress. Israel's foreign policy is one of them. For its rehabilitation it requires re-direction and reactivation and a new agenda of priorities.

The writer is a former director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

## RELIGIOUS DILEMMA

By ROCHELLE FURSTENBERG

MANY MEMBERS of the religious Zionist community are voters in search of a party. Ideally, they would like to vote for the National Religious Party. Whether for pragmatic reasons (money for religious education) or for socio-psychological reasons (a deep-seated identity as religious Zionists and a feeling of belonging) they tend to remain loyal to their community and would like to vote for the party that represents it. Nonetheless, more and more religious are looking elsewhere, no longer seeing themselves as a sect that must vote for religious interests.

However, they continue to be attracted by a vision of Religious Zionism, a Zionist ideology that is still compelling: a Jewish state integrating traditional Jewish values in a modern democracy, creating a full Jewish life on a national and not just a private scale as in the Diaspora. There are differences of opinion as to whether this vision should be legislated as well as achieved through education. But whatever the case, the NRP is the natural home of this vision. And yet, *sie lassen nicht*, they don't allow it. The

discrepancy between the ideal and the reality is too great, the sclerosis of the party is too frustrating, the leadership too weak. What are the alternatives?

There are those religious of the Centre and Left who have turned away from the Religious Zionist camp because of its support of the Likud in the last seven years, its adherence to a pre-Zionist Eretz Yisrael ideology, its Gush Emunim strain, its lack of backbone in opposing the Lebanese War.

Almost unnoticed, past and potential supporters of the NRP have gone to the Labour Party. No longer able to assume that the Reli-

gious Zionists will create a coalition with Labour, those who would like to see the Likud defeated have turned directly to Labour to achieve this goal. Some are doing this wholeheartedly, particularly Americans who believe that the religious can be a strong interest group within Labour and thereby raise Jewish consciousness. Others are doing it with the nagging fear that the interest groups within Labour are too varied and ambivalent about religious values, too secular. Nonetheless, these religious voters will opt for Labour, seeing it as the necessary thing to do at the moment.

THE RELIGIOUS Right who are found in non-religious parties like the Likud and Tehiya reflect a different perception of relations between religion and party. They do not necessarily see themselves merely as a religious interest group within the Likud or Tehiya. Because the issue of Eretz Yisrael has become the dominant, almost the only, religious question for these people, swallowing up everything else, they seem to perceive their parties as religious in purpose.

A blurring of distinctions has developed between religious values, a halachic way of life and a generally conservative, chauvinistic, militant reflex. There is a deep-seated (and often justified) Diaspora feeling that

the world is against us and we must react at all costs, and this has replaced the halachic yardstick.

No doubt there is much in the religious outlook that reflects this conservatism, this chauvinism. It would be dishonest to pretend that halacha is a liberal tract. Yet at the same time it cannot be reduced to the Land of Israel chauvinism of the Religious Right. Halacha has a far richer dialectic than either liberalism or conservatism. Halacha is normative, demanding, but it is man's interpretation at a certain time and place that makes it politically Right or Left.

It seems that this has escaped not only the religious in Tehiya and the Likud but also Gush Emunim leadership in the Morasha Party, which broke off from the NRP and joined with Poalei Agudat Yisrael. Rabbi Haim Druckman, running on the heels of Ariel Sharon, clamouring for the more militant stand, seems to assume that this is the more religious view. There is a suspension of traditional halachic judgment, of fine distinctions. A messianic atmosphere has been created. It led to extremism in Gush Emunim, even to the "underground," which Morasha has only faintly criticized.

All this has resulted from the complex historical process generated by the Six Day War. But it is also a result of disenchantment with the political cynicism of the NRP. This is what has led some people to accept Morasha's claim that it offers an idealistic alternative, spiritual leadership.

Projecting the image of the yeshiva wing of the NRP, Morasha is now bound to attract young people from the fact that heads of the yeshivot, figures like Rabbi Aaron Lichtenstein of Har Etzion, have come out in support of the NRP rather than

Morasha.

In general, one discerns in the hesder yeshivot a movement away from Gush Emunim. This, it would seem, is a consequence of the Lebanon War and the underground. Yet Morasha, if it receives the majority of the Religious Zionist vote, can freeze Gush Emunim attitudes just when a more realistic, moderate approach is beginning to emerge in the community.

AN INTERESTING phenomenon in the Gush Emunim sector is the attitude to Zionism that has developed and is reflected in Morasha.

It has been pointed out that Morasha does not emphasize Zionism, but rather settlement of Eretz Yisrael; it does not affirm the national religious school system, but talks of Torani schools which minimize secular studies; it often undermines ethnic integration of the schools, and it does not have women on its list.

Some of this is an accommodation to its partner, Agudat Yisrael, a party which, despite its commendable integrity, has retained a certain ambivalence about participating in a secular Jewish state. Morasha also carries this ambivalence. Emphasizing the pre-Zionist Movement religious connection to Eretz Yisrael, they seem uncomfortable with the modern state spawned by secular Zionism. Drawing their inspiration from the Mercaz Harav Yeshiva, they are not grappling, as the Religious Zionist Movement and particularly the religious kibbutzim grappled, with integrating Torah values into this time and place. Rather, they prefer, when possible, to ignore the challenges of modernism and secularism, and dig into a lifestyle that is more and more closed off from the secular world, from "goyische influences."

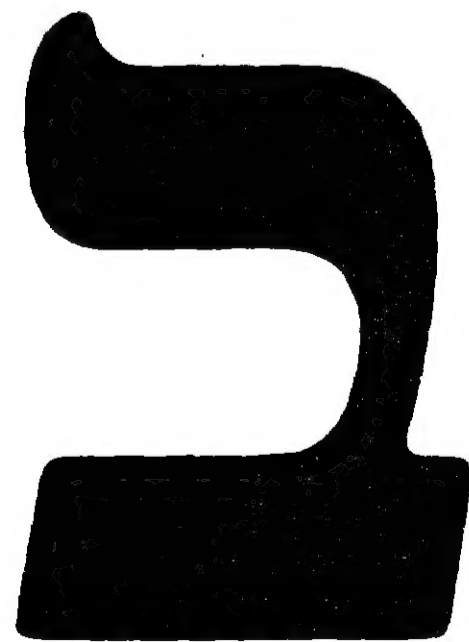
The cynicism of the Religious

Zionist party might well lead its community into the hands of Morasha. Having wandered from the path of political moderation in the last seven years, the NRP leadership is trying to run fast enough to keep up with its followers and must now face the danger that Morasha, its more extreme offspring, will overtake it.

If Morasha wins more seats than the NRP it will put the Religious Zionist community into the Right

camp, giving the religious little leverage in a Labour Party coalition. It could effect a polarized situation where one is faced with a strong Left coalition uninterested in religious values, and a bloc on the Right which obliterates religious distinctions and equates religion with its brand of nationalism.

The writer is a freelance journalist living in Jerusalem. The article which appeared on the back page yesterday under this headline was by Wolf Blitzer.



**"Hazit Datit Loumit"**  
National Religious Party

**RAMADA RENAISSANCE HOTEL**  
JERUSALEM

**THE JERUSALEM POST**

(In English)

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## The campaign that was

THE ELECTION campaign which ended last night was characterized, on the whole, by quiet, tolerant behaviour on the part of the public. People were prepared to listen.

This ostensibly unremarkable fact stands out all the more saliently when this campaign is compared to the ugly, raucous scenes that dominated the electoral process in 1981.

Here and there in 1984 too there were instances when legitimate, acceptable heckling gave way to mindless barracking by churlish young louts. But the instances were few and far between, and almost every time the barrackers eventually slunk away, realizing that this time public sympathy was against them.

Some observers attribute the relative calmness of the campaign to the absence of Menachem Begin. Indeed, not only was he absent in person, even his image, his voice, his record were strangely omitted from his own party's campaign propaganda.

And since the Opposition, for reasons of its own, was wary of attacking the fallen idol, Begin's name figured, somewhat pathetically, only as the war-cry of the churls.

Others see the unemotional tenor of the campaign as testimony to the uncharismatic personalities of the two main candidates.

Still others refer to a growing political maturity among the electorate.

Whatever the causes, the relative quiescence of the campaign was a welcome relief. Hopefully it will set a precedent for the future. It by no means implies that people were not profoundly exercised by the issues and controversies upon which we are each to pass judgement today. Every park bench, every corner cafe, every neighbourhood grocery store has been the scene of earnest and intense debate these past weeks. And the high turnout predicted today will demonstrate that the Israeli voter is as concerned and involved as ever he was.

Although the election campaign is only just over, some of its lessons are already evident — and indeed were in part applied by the parties themselves.

The first of these pertains to the length of the campaign. This has always been a vexed issue in Israel where long months often elapse between the dissolution of the Knesset and polling day itself (and the limbo is often then extended further while coalition negotiations drag on).

In other, older democracies, parties find they can say all they have to say in a few weeks. And this time our own parties seemed inclined to agree. As if by mutual consent, the campaign only "got going" a month or so ago. The parties preferred to concentrate their efforts and their resources on the immediate build-up period before polling-day rather than risk boring the public or "peaking" too early.

This trend, having evolved empirically, ought now to be given permanent expression in a constitutional reform that would reduce the dissolution-to-election period.

A second lesson learned by both Labour and Likud pertains to the sophistication of the electorate — and was expressed by the steady trailing-off in the number of appearances of the two parties' highly-paid funny-men.

Both sides apparently encountered angry and disparaging reactions to their attempts to titillate a public which wanted to be talked to seriously. Other transparent gimmickry also seems to have been received indifferently.

Israel 1984 may yet be cited as the political campaign in which McLuhan's famous adage the "media is the message" was pushed to the point of diminishing returns — and punctured against the sharp, no-nonsense intelligence of the ordinary man.

The more profound lessons of this campaign will be studied only once the results are in.

The problem of the proliferation of small parties will have to be addressed by the two big blocs notwithstanding their natural reluctance to offend actual or potential political allies.

In 1977, and again in 1981, our home-grown psephologists all assured us that the trend in Israel was towards two main camps, one of the right and the other of the left, with perhaps a centrist bloc and a religious bloc in the middle. This analysis, however desirable, has apparently proved premature. Only legislation rammed through by Labour and Likud in concert can ensure a more rational political map.

Within the two main camps — depending on the results — there will be heart-searching and recriminations over campaign tactics. Was there wisdom, and profit, in dodging key issues, softpedalling "unpopular" positions, "hiding" controversial personalities?

The contentions adduced on both sides of these arguments, in both major parties, go to the core of the relationship between the government and the governed in a democracy. They will continue to exercise the politicians and the public in the post-election period that is now to break upon us.

# Forming a new government

After the election booths have closed tomorrow evening, the subsequent stages which lead to the formation of a new government are neither rapid nor simple nor crystal-clear. Post Knesset Correspondent Asher Wallfish does his best to explain.

Q: Will we know the breakdown of the new Knesset on the morning of July 24?

A: WE SHALL KNOW how the overwhelming majority of the 120 seats have been distributed, and the relative weight of the parties will be clear. But for final official figures, the central elections committee has up to two weeks.

Why this delay?

THE VOTING records all have to be rechecked in Jerusalem after they arrive from the various regional committees. The votes of soldiers and seamen in double envelopes require a special check. Lists failing to reach the 1 per cent qualifying threshold will have their ballots discounted, and surplus seats have to be distributed according to a special formula.

So can we expect to see our new Knesset on TV on August 6?

THE LAW says that the new Knesset convenes for its first session, and the new MKs pronounce their declaration of allegiance, on the Monday of the second week following the week during which the official election results are published. That will be later in August.

What is the procedure for forming a new government?

THE PROCEDURE is one and the same, whether it follows the election of a new Knesset or the resignation of the cabinet, the resignation or death of the prime minister, or the Knesset voting no-confidence in the government.

Who is responsible for the procedure?

THE PRESIDENT of the state gives the task of forming a new government to a Knesset Member who, three days after having been asked to do so, informs the president that he is ready to assume the task. But before the president so charges the MK, he must consult with representatives of Knesset factions.

With all the factions?

THE LAW does not stipulate all, but in the past the president has in fact summoned all the factions in order to get their views on who should head the following government. He generally summoned them in the order of size.

Why shouldn't the leader of the majority faction be asked to form the new government?

IN ISRAEL'S history, no party has ever won a majority. Any MK who believes he can form a new government has to negotiate with other factions in order to construct a coalition capable of winning a vote of confidence in the Knesset.

Why shouldn't the leader of the largest faction be asked to form the new government, then?

IN THE PAST, the president in fact always has asked the leader of the largest faction, but the law does not oblige him to do so. The law leaves the president totally free and independent at this stage of the procedure, and in the past the High Court has declined to interfere, when

appealed to, declaring that the president's conduct of the procedure was not justifiable.

How long does the MK charged with forming the new government have to complete his task?

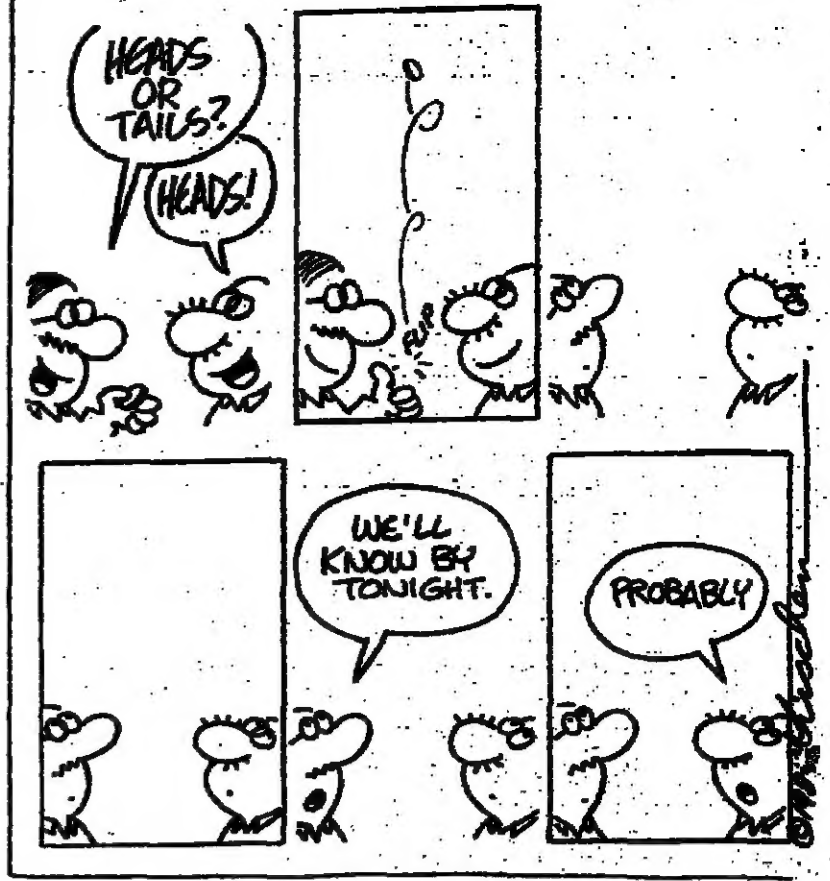
THE PRESIDENT gives him 21 days initially, and can add another 21 days, making a total of 42 days in all for the premier-candidate to negotiate. But if he does not succeed, the president can charge another MK, who has announced he is ready to form a government, with the task of doing so. Before so doing, the president is entitled, but not obliged (as he was the first time), to consult with the Knesset factions. The new premier-hopeful may also get a total of 42 days in which to negotiate with potential coalition partners.

And if this fails to produce a result?

THE LAW entitles the president to carry on charging other MKs, who are ready, to assume the task. But it also entitles representatives of Knesset factions constituting a majority of the 120 seats in the House to ask the president in writing to charge an MK whom they name with the task of forming the new government. That MK must give the president his written agreement. The president allows him 14 days in which to negotiate and form his coalition. During those 14 days, any other MK previously asked to form a government, whose time-limit has not yet expired, must cease his efforts.

What would happen if nobody, but

## Dry Bones



nobody, manages to form a government?

ALTHOUGH LOGIC indicates that a candidate proposed by a majority of Knesset factions, who gave his consent in writing after they proposed him in writing, should be able to form a government commanding at least the same number of seats in a vote of confidence, the candidate could fail (or be could not have been proposed in the first place), whereupon the law entitles the president to notify the Knesset Speaker that he sees no possibility of any new government being formed.

What is the way out of this deadlock?

THE LAW does not say in so many words, but the attorney-general has ruled in his guidelines to the government that the possibility arises of the Knesset's passing a law to dissolve itself, which leads to fresh elections. Such a law, if passed, terminates all

efforts to try to form a new government.

So, during all this process, which could take months and not even lead anywhere, the country remains without a government?

NOT SO. The outgoing government remains the legitimate government indefinitely, until a new government obtains the confidence of the Knesset.

Which means I have nothing to worry about?

YOU HAVE plenty to worry about. The outgoing government is unlikely to take controversial measures; the uncertainty and confusion will cause problems (in the economic sphere, for example); and the country might have to bear the trauma and the financial expense of an election campaign all over again.

## READERS' LETTERS

### DIARY QUESTIONED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — According to a report in your issue of April 22, Lily Goldenberg of Tel Aviv recently rediscovered a diary she kept during the first 113 days of the Nazi occupation of Warsaw. Supposedly the diary "was tucked away for 40 years" and "came to light only recently during spring-cleaning." But where exactly was it tucked away the last 40 years? Has Lily Goldenberg, in fact, lived in the same residence for more than 40 years?

I ask these questions because I doubt the authenticity of this purported Warsaw ghetto diary. According to your article, "Goldenberg began writing the 54-page diary on September 11, 1939, and she maintained it until the following January 3." And, "She writes of the

building of the wall around the ghetto..." But, to judge from the diary of Adam Czerniakow, the head of the Jewish Council in Nazi-occupied Warsaw, these two statements are incompatible. According to Czerniakow's diary, the first order to build a wall around the ghetto did not come from the Nazis until March 1940. And the first work preparatory to building the wall did not begin until April 1940. (See The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow, ed. by Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron and Josef Kermisz, Stein and Day, New York, 1979, pp. 134ff.) So, if Lily Goldenberg's purported diary ended January 3, 1940, how could she have written anything in it about the building of the wall around the ghetto which did not begin until April 1940?

According to your article, "Goldenberg first tried to interest the Polish authorities in it, as a document that cast an unusual light on Polish history. But the Poles were uninterested." Maybe the Poles aren't as stupid as they were portrayed in the once-popular Polish jokes. Perhaps they smelled a fake.

Los Angeles. L. A. ROLLINS  
The article referred to by Mr. Rollins was a report by the Itim news agency. — Ed. J.P.

### SAVE ETHIOPIAN JEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your editorial of June 24, "Meddling not needed," is upsetting. We keep on hearing that our demonstration will hurt our families whom we want to save. How could the Ethiopian Jews demonstration make things worse? They are not being saved. They are dying of violence and thirst and starvation and disease. We must cry out. Not once have we seen a cry for our people make things worse. We have only seen it help.

During the Holocaust, no one believed that such a tragedy could take place; but it did. And now we say "never again." Fortunately, the Association of American Jews joined in our demonstration after we had already decided to make it. They really helped us with our economic problems.

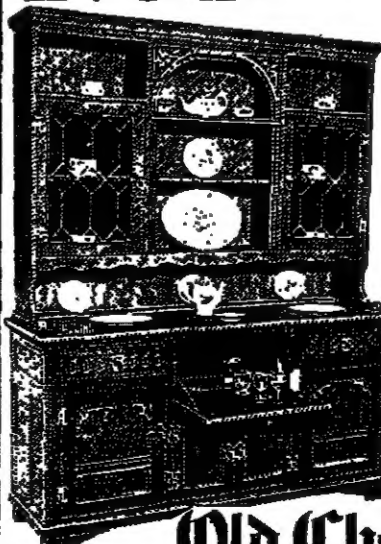
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## OLYMPICS FOR THE DISABLED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — It was a great pleasure to be present at the 1984 International Games for the Disabled when the Israeli team won the gold medal for standing volleyball. These incredible athletes displayed all that is fine and noble in the Israeli people — courage, good sportsmanship, teamwork and a steadfast sense of purpose.

Congratulations to all the Israeli athletes who participated in the games.

MR. AND MRS. JACOB RUBIN  
Plainview, New York.

## CULTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The co-sponsor of the national conference on the phenomenon of cults and missionaries was not the Safad Municipal Development Corporation, as reported in your issue of July 4, but the Safad Community Building and Development Foundation, also registered as the Safad Foundation.

DAVID BEDEIN, Director,  
Safad Community Building and Development Foundation  
Safad.

## FACTORY-COLLEGES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Over 15 years ago, I approached the Ministry of Education and other authorities in Israel with a proposal to establish in a number of border and development towns in Israel factory-colleges. The idea was to establish a unit that could support itself after an initial stage, help to give technological training to young people in the border towns and open up new employment possibilities, particularly in the "sunrise" industries. The staff of the factory could act as the teaching force and management at the college, the former offering workshop and laboratory facilities to the latter.

My pleas fell on deaf ears. Indeed, I had a distinct feeling that the lack of financial resources closed all the

doors, though it might have been possible to induce a philanthropist in the diaspora to endow the project.

My credentials underpinning this proposal were quite satisfactory, if I may say so: 29 years in technical education in the U.K. (mainly in an executive capacity), a decade in industry, authorship of over 40 books in technology, editorships of journals, etc. I think I could have developed a string of factory-colleges in the border and deprived areas in Israel — all this without requesting any payment to myself or my colleagues. My persistent efforts have produced no result at all — a great pity.

J. ROSE

Ra'anana. (Blackburn, U.K.)

**"Hazit Datit Leumit"**  
National Religious Party

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## POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** ANTI-SEMITISM in some of its ugliest manifestations remains a grave problem for Argentine Jewry, even though the military junta has been replaced by a democratic regime, according to Sion Cohen Imach, president of Daia, the representative body of the Argentine Jewish community.

Cohen Imach noted that virulent anti-Semitic propaganda persists in Argentina. At the Catholic University in Salta, a priest appealing to the Almighty to protect the nation from "influences alien to national existence", enumerated imperialism, communism and Zionism. Cohen Imach reported. And the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, is included in the syllabus for a lecture series on Argentine history at the Study Centre of Our Lady of Mercy.

Cohen Imach also expressed concern that an anti-Semitic, extreme right wing agitator from the U.S., Lyndon Larouche, was received recently by President Raul Alfonsin and obtained considerable publicity in the press for his diatribes against the International Monetary Fund.

**PS** A CROWD of women, normally well-behaved members of their Jewish communities, shouted at each other, hissed, yelled and even came to blows. Two women in their late forties grabbed former U.S. congresswoman Bella Abzug and tried to pry a microphone out of her hands. A prominent member of the B'nai Brith Women punched a heckler in the face.

These scenes in Paris were actually part of the "simulation games and training" in preparation for next year's UN-sponsored International Women's Conference in Nairobi.

The Anti-Defamation League organized the special meeting recently in Paris, where over 150 women representing Jewish communities and organizations in 15 countries gathered "to try to prevent a repetition of the anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist atmosphere which prevailed at the Mexico and Copenhagen conferences." The Paris meeting was held to try to prepare Jewish women delegates for "what they might have to face in Nairobi next year."

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